

FELIX JACOBY

DIE FRAGMENTE DER GRIECHISCHEN HISTORIKER
CONTINUED

PART FOUR

BIOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUARIAN LITERATURE

EDITED BY

G. SCHEPENS



FELIX JACOBY

DIE FRAGMENTE
DER

GRIECHISCHEN HISTORIKER

CONTINUED

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IMPERIAL AND UNDATED AUTHORS

BY

J. RADICKE



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PREFACE

When Jacoby died in 1959, his admirable *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* were left behind unfinished. Although Jacoby had published the enormous number of 856 authors, he nonetheless quite resignedly regarded his work as a mere “torso”¹, and had indeed only completed half of the categories he had outlined in the ambitious preface to his first volume in 1923². Among the parts not finished were the *Antiquarische Geschichte und Biographie*, which Jacoby had planned to be the fourth main part of his work. In 1991 the completion of the missing part IV was taken in hand by A. Henrichs, G.A. Lehmann and G. Schepens, who, guided by Jacoby’s *Nachlaß*, drew up a table of its content and provided a provisional list of authors³. The first section of this part (IV A) is to contain the biographers, who will be published in several independent fascicles. The fascicles IV A 1-6 will cover the biographers of the pre-Hellenistic and the Hellenistic period, the present volume (IV A 7), which is the last but one, contains the fragments of all biographers of Imperial times together with those of the undated authors.

Although its main purpose is to supplement Jacoby’s work, it is also intended to provide a collection of biographical authors which can be read in its own right. Both the form and content of this collection have therefore been shaped with this dual purpose in mind. Following Jacoby’s example, the dated authors are given in roughly chronological order, although in some cases it seemed preferable to form small groups of similar authors. Apart from the biographers not published by Jacoby himself, the volume contains the biographical works of those authors already edited by him in another category. In the case of the less familiar authors I have also repeated the testimonies and, occasionally, other historical fragments as well, taking the opportunity to make some minor additions. As the only exception to this

¹ Vol. III C p. 7*: “es schmerzt mich, dass meine Arbeit (...) an den ‘Fragmenten’ selbst nur der Historiker im engeren sinne des wortes ein torso bleiben muss.”

² Vol. I A p. VII.

³ On the project cf. G. SCHEPENS, *Jacoby’s FGrHist: Problems, Methods, Prospects*, in *Collecting Fragments*, ed. G.W. MOST, Göttingen 1997, p. 144-172; and his introduction to vol. IV A 1.

rule, Nicolaus of Damascus has been omitted, whose biographies would merit a separate study. In the case of the historians of the 4th century A.D., whose works might be regarded as biographies, I have only given the references, since Jacoby included them amongst the *Spezialgeschichten*. As for the Greek text I have made no collations myself, but have used instead what I regarded as the best edition of an author, although my text diverges from the available editions in some cases. The reader will find the editions and the differences in the respective lists. In contrast to Jacoby's practice a translation has been added to facilitate access to the texts.

For the purpose of the collection it seemed best to use a rather wide and simple definition of biography. It is therefore taken to include all works which are concerned primarily with the life of one or, in the case of collections, of several people. Although one could also opt for a narrower definition of biography in the sense of Plutarch's *Lives*, the variety of literary works which are to be found in the biographical field would consequently escape notice. If biography is to be restricted to some specific, idealised type, a lot of texts would be excluded which with some justification might be called biographical. A brief survey of the extant "biographies" might illustrate the point. Even if we only apply the most formal criteria, their number is considerably reduced. If it should be regarded as essential that the whole life of a person is treated, Philostratus' and Eunapius' *Lives of Sophists* would drop out, if speeches are excluded, Marinus' *Life of Proclus*, for instance, would not pass the test. Going even further, one might ask whether Diogenes' *Lives of Philosophers* should not rather be called a history of philosophy. In fact, Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras* formed part of such a work. In the case of the fragmentary evidence, critical distinctions become even more difficult, since a title does not always reveal very much about the nature of a work. Thus Jerome, for example, calls Tacitus' historical works *Vitae Caesarum*⁴, and were it not for our knowledge of them, we would perhaps think of a collection of biographies. For these reasons it seemed to be expedient to offer more, rather than less, material and to allow as great a scope as possible to the genre so that the reader is then free to impose his own definition upon it.

⁴ HIER. *Comm. in Zacharium* 3,14 p. 1522 MIGNE: *Cornelius quoque Tacitus, qui post Augustum usque ad mortem Domitiani vitas Caesarum triginta voluminibus exaravit.*

The content of the collection is various indeed. Regarding the subjects, there are biographies of famous men of letters, orators, philosophers and physicians, and finally some of politicians as well. As to the authors, the main bulk of biographies was written, as should have been expected, by antiquarians and scholars. Comprehensive collections rather than single biographies are predominant in this field. The character of such works is necessarily compilatory, their purpose mainly antiquarian, and in some cases also paradoxographical. The influence of this scholarly tradition on our perception of Antiquity can hardly be overestimated. In fact, much of our biographical knowledge depends on what might be called the last offspring of it: the dictionary of the Suda/Hesychius. Although the information it provides is often poor, it offers an insight into the cultural and literary life in the Greek East to a degree which is lacking for the Latin West.

Besides the antiquarian there is also a strong philosophical tradition of biography, which deals exclusively with the lives of philosophers. Although it does not seem to have been bound to any school specifically, the lives written by Neo-Platonic philosophers are most prominent, maybe because several examples are still extant. The purpose of this type of biography is mainly philosophical. The depicted philosopher is thought to embody his doctrine or in general the philosophical way of life. These works often have a strong hagiographic tendency, as can be seen especially in the case of Pythagoras and Apollonius, who are depicted as pagan saints. It is also their lives that biography comes closest to the novel.

A third strand of biographical activity may be thought to manifest itself by the numerous encomiastic speeches on the emperor, which I have included in an appendix. They are, as it were, biography put to practical use: On a given occasion a sophist would address the emperor. However, they are only the tip of an iceberg. The theoretical works we have on panegyrics and encomia and our other evidence suggest that, although nearly no trace of them survives, encomia and biographies were quite common currency in antiquity.

Finally, a word on the undated authors. It is often hard to tell if they are genuine authors at all, and, in those cases where they are, whether their remarks are taken from a biographical work. Although the cases in which the invention of authorities can be proven without doubt are late (Ps.-Plutarch *De fluviosis*, Ptolemy Chennus, Historia Augusta), the phenomenon seems to be as old as biographical literature. In fact, what is left of authors like Aristoxenus and Hermippus

often does not inspire the reader with too much confidence into their historical accuracy. Aristoxenus, for instance, transfers the famous story of the Pythagoreans Phintias and Damon from Dionysius I to his contemporary Dionysius II, quoting the latter as an authority⁵. A logical mistake, however, proves that this is mere invention, and, as such, it highlights the extent to which some biographers are prepared to combine fact with fiction. Therefore, it seems to me that one should be careful not to believe in all witnesses who are adduced only once and without specific quotation in the Hellenistic biographical tradition. In addition, the compilatory character of our late sources may have led to further misunderstandings and mistakes. For example, a figure of a philosophical dialogue can easily become an author, or a remark on some person might be mistaken for the title of a biography. Thus, I would advise scepticism in the following cases at least: Archetimus of Syracuse (1098); Diodorus of Ephesus (1102); Diodorus of Eretria (1103); Eubulides the Pythagorean (1106); Hipparchus (1109); Minyes (1111); Nicander of Alexandria (1112); Theoxenus (1115); Xenophon of Athens (1118).

Finally, I wish to thank the board of general editors Prof. A. Henrichs, Prof. G.A. Lehmann, Prof. G. Schepens and my colleagues Dr. J. Bollansée and Dr. J. Engels, who drew up a list of authors, made available Jacoby's *Nachlaß* and assigned the part on the biographers of the Imperial times to me. Prof. G.A. Lehmann not only raised 3 years' funding by the DFG, but also followed the progress of the book with his persistent interest and advice during the long period in which I was working on it. It was not least the scholarly and friendly atmosphere of the Departments of History and Classics at Göttingen which made the work prosper. Prof. Bruno Bleckmann, Dr. Gerrit Kloss and Mehran Nickbakht, in particular, read the manuscript and stimulated thought by their criticism. In accordance with the general outlines of the project the book had to be written in English. This is not my native tongue, which, I admit, I would much prefer to have used. Thanks to the help from Timothy Saunders at the University of Bristol and Guy Laycock, who read the manuscript at various stages, many of the initial inaccuracies and infelicities of expression have now been gratefully removed. For those that remain I can do no better than re-echo the words of Jacoby: "the blame for whatever offends an English ear may be put at my door."⁶

Further proof-reading was done by Annette Greve, Lisa Meyer, my father Reinhart Radicke, and Sebastian Zeidler. Last, but not least I would like to thank Prof. R. Kassel. His reading of the manuscript saved me from more than one mistake and pointed the way to the solution of many problems. The book owes more to his generous advice and instruction throughout the years than I can say.

Göttingen, July 1998

JAN RADICKE

⁵ ARISTOXENUS F 31 WEHRLI II.

⁶ Cf. JACOBY's preface to the text of vol. III b (Supplement).

WORKS OF GENERAL REFERENCE

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
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| <i>CEG I-II</i> | P.A. HANSEN, <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> , vol. I-II, Berlin - New York 1983-1989. |
| <i>CIL</i> | <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> |
| <i>DEL CORNO</i> | D. DEL CORNO, <i>Graecorum de re onirocritica scriptorum reliquiae</i> , Milano 1969. |
| <i>DK I-III</i> | H. DIELS – W. KRANZ, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , vol. I-III, Berlin 1951-1952 ⁶ . |
| <i>DNP</i> | <i>Der Neue Pauly</i> |
| <i>DÖRING</i> | K. DÖRING, <i>Die Megariker</i> , Amsterdam 1972. |
| <i>EGF</i> | M. Davies, <i>Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , Göttingen 1988. |
| <i>FGrHist</i> | F. JACOBY, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , Berlin - Leiden 1923-1958. |
| <i>FHG I-IV</i> | K. MÜLLER, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> , vol. I-IV, Paris 1841-1851. |
| <i>FRASER – MATTHEWS I-II</i> | P.M. FRASER – E. MATTHEWS (edd.), <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , vol. I. <i>The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica</i> , Oxford 1987, vol. II. <i>Attica</i> , edd. by M.J. OSBORNE – S.G. BYRNE, Oxford 1994. |
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| <i>IG</i> | <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> |
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- 1053. Ptolemy T 1.
- 1060. Philo F 45; 48; 52 b.
- 1061. Hermippus T 4; F 5; 7.
- 1062. Soranus F 1; 2 (§§ 2.14); 3; 4; 5.
- 1063. Nicomachus F 1 (§§ 25.31).
- 1064. Apollonius T 1; 10; F 2 (§ 254).
- 1071. Telephus T 3 a.
- 1074. Athenaeus F 1.
- 1076. Nicagoras T 8 a.
- 1079. Timotheus of Athens F 2; 3.
- 1081. Agreophon T 1.
- 1085. Potamon T 1.
- 1096. Antiphon F 1 a.
- 1097. Apollodorus F 1 c.
- 1101. Damas F 1.
- 1104. Diodorus of Eretria F 1.
- 1107. Eubulides the Pythagorean F 2.
- 1108. Eurypylus F 1.
- 1109. Heraclides F 2.
- 1111. Lycon F 3.

I

AUTHORS OF IMPERIAL TIMES

1053 (= 199). Ptolemy of Ascalon?

(2nd half 1st cent. B.C.)

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

1 (FHG IV, p. 486) AMMON. *De adj. voc.* 243 (= HERENN. PHILO, *De div. verb. signif.* 101 PALMIERI): 'Ιουδαῖοι καὶ Ἰδουμαῖοι διαφέρουσιν, ὡς φησι Πτολεμαῖος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ Ἡράδου τοῦ βασιλέως. Ιουδαῖοι μὲν γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φυσικοί· Ἰδουμαῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀρχῆθεν οὐκ Ιουδαῖοι, ἀλλὰ Φοίνικες 5 καὶ Σύροι, κρατηθέντες δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναγκασθέντες περιτέμνεσθαι καὶ συντελεῖν εἰς τὸ ἔθνος καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ νόμιμα ἥγεισθαι ἐκλήθησαν Ἰδουμαῖοι.

² Ιουδαῖοι καὶ Ἰδουμαῖοι *Ep Ptol. Herenn. Et.Gud.* : Ἰδουμ- καὶ Ιουδ- ΘG²⁻³ ὡς ... βασιλέως γπ *Herenn.* : *om. Ptol. Et.Gud.* ⁴ φυσικοί γπ *Herenn. Et.Gud.* : *om. Ptol.* || Ιουδαῖοι γπ *Et.Gud.* : Ἰδουμαῖοι *Ptol. Herenn.* ⁶ ἔθνος γπ *Herenn. Et.Gud.* : ἔθος θ (*prob. Jacoby*) || Ἰδουμαῖοι γπ *Herenn. Et.Gud.* : Ιουδαῖοι θ

1053 (= 199). Ptolemy of Ascalon?

(2nd half 1st cent. B.C.)

F

ON KING HEROD

1 Jews and Idumaeans are different, as Ptolemy says in the first book of his *On King Herod*. Jews are those who are by origin natural Jews, whereas Idumaeans are not Jews by origin but Phoenicians and Syrians, and were called Idumaeans only after they had been defeated by them (*sc. the Jews*) and had been forced to practise circumcision, to belong to their nation and to observe the same customs.

1053 (= 199). Ptolemy of Ascalon?

(2nd half 1st cent. b.c.)

Introduction

Ptolemy's work *On King Herod*, which consisted of at least two books and which was either a biography or historical monograph, probably dates to the late 1st century b.c. Herod the Great died in 4 b.c., and it seems likely that a single work was written about him either during his reign—as was Nicolaus' biography of Augustus—or shortly after his death¹. A firm *terminus ante quem* is provided by Herennius Philo of Byblus (1060), who seems to be the source of our information. Since P. is a common name², it is difficult to determine his identity with certainty. There might, however, be some arguments in favour of his identification with the grammarian P. of Ascalon³, who is twice quoted by Ammonius in other places⁴. Since Herod the Great was charged with his Idumaean, i.e. half-Jewish, origin by his opponents⁵ and, as far as we can see from Nicolaus of Damascus⁶, tried to obscure it in official propaganda, an author who stresses the difference between Idumaeans and Jews, probably in connection with Herod's descent, will hardly have been a courtier. Thus, P., the brother of Nicolaus⁷, and P., procurator and adviser to Herod⁸, should be ex-

¹ Cf. JACOBY, *FGrHist* 199, p. 625.

² As is stressed by JACOBY in his commentary on *FGrHist* 199, p. 625; and DIHLE (1959: 1861).

³ SCHÜRER I (1901: 49 [27-28]); SCHALIT (1969: 677-678); STERN (1974: 355). A work on Herod is not attested for him by the SUDA π 3038 s.v. Πτολεμαῖος Ἀσκαλωνίτης. However, the Suda's lists of works are never complete. Often we get only a random selection of titles. Therefore, its silence does not oppose the assumption that P. of Ascalon was the author of a biography of Herod, *pace* JACOBY, *FGrHist* 199, p. 625.

⁴ AMMON. *De adj. voc.* 436; 477.

⁵ Cf. Ios. *Ant. Iud.* 14,403: (...) ὡς παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δικαιοσύνην Ἡράδη δώσουσιν τὴν βασιλείαν ιδιώτῃ τε ὄντι καὶ Ἰδουμαίῳ, τοιτέστιν ἡμίουσδαιφ (...) on Herod's origin cf. also Ios. *Ant. Iud.* 14,8-9; *Bell. Iud.* 1,123; SCHÜRER I (1901: 292 n. 3 [234 n. 3]; 377 [296]); SCHALIT (1969: 4-5; 677-678); MERKEL (1988: 825).

⁶ Cf. Ios. *Ant. Iud.* 14,8 (*FGrHist* 90 F 96) who makes him a descendant of the Jews of the Babylonian exile: φίλος δέ τις Ὑρκανοῦ Ἰδουμαῖος Ἀντίπατρος λεγόμενος (...). Νικόλαος μέντοι φησὶν ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς τοῦτον εἶναι γένος ἐκ τῶν πρώτων Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλώνος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφίκομένων. ταῦτα δὲ λέγει χαριζόμενος Ἡράδη τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκ τύχης τινὸς γενομένῳ.

⁷ *FGrHist* 90 T 8 (= Ios. *Ant. Iud.* 17,225); F 131; SCHÜRER I (1901: 395 [310-311]).

⁸ Cf. Ios. *Ant. Iud.* 14,377; 16,191; and VOLKMANN (1959: 1766).

cluded⁹. It is also difficult to see how the Egyptian priest P. of Mendes¹⁰, who wrote a history or chronicle of the Egyptian pharaohs, should come to write a work on Herod. It therefore seems a quite reasonable assumption to identify P. with the grammarian of Ascalon. His time of life—he lived about the end of the 1st century b.c.—and his birthplace Ascalon¹¹ would fit well into the picture, as does his profession. It is not unusual that a grammarian should also be interested in biography.

Commentary on the Testimony

(1) The identity of Ammonius is much disputed¹², but it seems to be clear that the entry goes back to the dictionary of synonyms written by the 1st century grammarian Herennius Philo of Byblus (1060)¹³. P. is quoted to prove that the terms Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἰδουμαῖοι denote different ethnic groups, although they are often used synonymously¹⁴. He gives the explanation that the *Idoumaioi* were called Jews only after their defeat by the Jews and their integration into the Jewish state

⁹ *Pace* JACOBY, *FGrHist* 199, p. 625, cf. SCHÜRER I (1901: 49 [27]): “Das hier erwähnte Werk eines Ptolemäus über Herodes ist sonst völlig unbekannt. Die angeführten Äußerungen über das halbe Judentum der Idumäer sind ohne Zweifel aus einer unbefangenen Erörterung über die wahre Herkunft des Herodes entnommen, wie sie ein Hofhistoriograph sich nicht hätte erlauben dürfen (...). Der Verfasser kann daher nicht zu den Hofbeamten des Herodes gehört haben, unter welchen allerdings zwei Männer Namens Ptolemäus erwähnt werden (der eine, ein Bruder des Nicolaus Damascenus [...]; der andere, nach dem Tode des Herodes mit Nicolaus Damascenus auf Seite des Archelaus stehend [...]).”

¹⁰ *FGrHist* 611.

¹¹ Herod seems to have had some connections with Ascalon, although the city was autonomous, cf. SCHÜRER I (1901: 292 n. 3 [234 n. 3]) and II (1907: 123 [107]); see, however, JACOBY's sceptic attitude.

¹² NICKAU (1966: LXVI-LXVII); PALMIERI (1988: 56-64); perhaps he should be identified with the grammarian Ammonius, priest of the Apis, who left Memphis in A.D. 391 together with HELLADIUS (1092).

¹³ NICKAU (1966: LXVII); and the edition of the epitome of Herennius by PALMIERI (1988). The entry in the latter epitome (p. 184 no. 101) is slightly longer. The Greek (or rather pagan) authors are criticised for ignorance of the holy scripture (Genesis 36), where the Idumaeans are made descendants of Esau. It seems to me, *pace* PALMIERI (1988: 28), that this is rather a later addition by some Christian epitomator than Philo's own statement, cf. PALMIERI (1988: 61) for other examples. Although Philo's creed is uncertain, he does not seem to have been a Jew, cf. *FGrHist* 790 F 9.

¹⁴ Cf. also STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἰουδαία; on the confusion of both terms see STERN (1974: 356); on the usage of *Ioudaios* in inscriptions see also WILLIAMS (1997: 249-262).

(under Hyrcanus I, 134/5-104 B.C.)¹⁵. There is quite an intriguing verbal parallel with a passage in Josephus' *Antiquitates*¹⁶, in which the same process is described: Υρκανοῦ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτῶν (*sc.* τῶν Ἰδουμαίων) εἰς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθη (·)¹⁷ καὶ νόμιμα μεταστήσαντος. Maybe P. was used by Josephus as one of his sources¹⁸.

¹⁵ On the history of the Idumaeans cf. SCHÜRER I (1901: 264-265 [207]); STERN 1974: 356.

¹⁶ Ios. *Ant. Iud.* 15,254.

¹⁷ See also the variant ἔθος in Ammonius' entry.

¹⁸ On Ptolemy as a source cf. HÖLSCHER (1916: 1980-1981); JACOBY, *FGrHist* 199, p. 625.

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1054. Nicolaus of Damascus**1055 (= 619). Euagoras of Lindus**

(2nd half 1st cent. B.C.)

T

- 1** SUDA ε 3363 s.v. Εὐαγόρας, Λίνδιος, ἱστορικός. ἔγραψε Βίον Τιμαγένους (88 T 11) καὶ ἑτέρων λογίων, Ζητήσεις κατὰ στοιχείον Θουκυδίδου, Τέχνην ῥήτορικὴν ἐν βιβλίοις ε', τῶν παρὰ Θουκυδίδῃ ζητουμένων κατὰ λέξιν,
4 ιστορίαν τε περιέχουσαν τὰς Αἰγυπτίων βασιλείας.

F

ΒΙΟΣ ΤΙΜΑΓΕΝΟΥΣ

¹⁻³ ἔγραψε ... ε' AF: om. rell. ³ τῶν ... λέξιν A: del. Jacoby || παρὰ Θουκυδίδῃ A: περὶ -ίδους F ⁴ τε A: om. rell.

1054. Nicolaus of Damascus**1055 (= 619). Euagoras of Lindus**

(2nd half 1st cent. B.C.)

T

- 1** Euagoras of Lindus, historian. He wrote a *Life of Timagenes* and lives of other famous men, *Thucydidean Problems* in alphabetical order, a *Rhetorical Techne* in five books, *On Problems in Thucydides* in alphabetical order, and a history covering the Egyptian dynasties.

F

LIFE OF TIMAGENES

1055 (= 619). Euagoras of Lindus

(2nd half 1st cent. B.C.)

Introduction

Euagoras of Lindus¹, author of several biographies, seems to have lived in Augustan times. He is dated by his biography of the historian Timagenes of Alexandria, who died around the end of the 1st century B.C.² Since Timagenes is not one of those famous people about whom biographers generally feel inclined to write, it seems quite likely that E. was his disciple. This is also suggested by E.s historical interests³. E. probably published his biography of Timagenes shortly after his teacher's death in fond commemoration of him. Although no certain trace of it is left, it may well be the source of several anecdotes about Timagenes that are told by the two Senecas⁴. The subjects of his other biographies remain uncertain. Perhaps E. also wrote about other famous Augustan scholars like Athenodorus of Tarsus and Arius Didymus, on whom the biographical tradition is surprisingly rich. Apart from the biographies, E. also composed a work on the Egyptian dynasties⁵. Its title suggests that it was a history of the Pharaohs like Manetho's Αἰγυπτιακά (*FGrHist* 609), upon which it was perhaps even based in parts. The Ptolemies would of course have been added. Such a work would come quite naturally to the mind of an author who had seen the Ptolemaic dynasty perish in 30 B.C., which clearly marked the end of an epoch in the history of Egypt. It appears that the biographies of the single emperors formed its structural backbone. For this type of composition the work of E.s teacher Timagenes, called Περὶ βασιλέων⁶, and Athenaeus' (1074) history of the Seleucids may be compared. Furthermore, the Suda attributes to

E. a dictionary on Thucydides⁷ and a rhetorical manual in five volumes. This might be due to some confusion, the Suda mixing up the works of the historian E. with those of the 3rd century commentator on Hermogenes⁸. However, if E.s intellectual profile was altogether similar to that of his teacher Timagenes, it does not seem impossible that he composed some rhetorical works, too. Moreover, he came from Rhodes, which was the seat of a famous school of orators in the 1st century B.C. Finally, the oeuvre of his contemporary Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who also wrote on Thucydides⁹, provides another good example of the combination of both historical and rhetorical interests. Therefore, the Suda's list of E.s works might well be correct.

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⁷ The title Τῶν παρὰ Θουκυδίδη ζητουμένων κατὰ λέξιν looks like a doublet to Ζητήσεις κατὰ στοιχείον Θουκυδίδου. The genitive is hardly intelligible. Perhaps a marginal gloss has intruded into the text, cf. GAISFORD (in the apparatus criticus of BERNHARDY's edition); JACOBY (1907: 828).

⁸ Cf. BRZOSKA (1907: 829), who thinks that the conflation arose because both authors wrote about Thucydides. However, the identical name is a sufficient reason for the error.

⁹ On Thucydidean scholarship in the Imperial times cf. STREBEL (1935: 59-60); SCHMID I 5 (1948: 214-215). If the Suda's attribution is correct, E.s work belongs to the first dictionaries on Thucydides known to us.

¹ Cf. JACOBY (1907: 828).

² Cf. on him *FGrHist* 88; BOWERSOCK (1965: 109-110; 123-127); SORDI (1982: 775-797).

³ He is thus to be distinguished from E., the commentator on Hermogenes, who dates to the 3rd century A.D., cf. BRZOSKA (1907: 829-830).

⁴ *FGrHist* 88 T 2; 3; 8; cf. SORDI (1982: 775); KIENAST (1982: 219 n. 194).

⁵ It has been argued by GUTSCHMID (1856: 779-781) that this work is referred to by Moses of Chorene (4-5th century A.D.) in his Armenian history (2,13); cf. also BRZOSKA (1907: 829). The fragment, however, has rightly been left out by JACOBY, *FGrHist* 619, because it is hardly authentic.

⁶ Cf. STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Μιλύαι (= *FGrHist* 88 F 1).

1056 (= 341/634). Seleucus of Alexandria

(1st cent. B.C.–1st cent. A.D.)

T

1 (*FHG III*, p. 500) SUDA σ 200 s.v. Σέλευκος, Ἀλεξανδρεύς, γραμματικός, ὃς ἐπεκλήθη Ὄμηρικός· ἐσοφίστευε δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. ἔγραψεν ἐξηγητικὰ εἰς πάντα ὡς εἰπεῖν ποιητὴν. Περὶ τῆς ἐν συνωνύμοις διαφορᾶς, Περὶ τῶν ψευδῶς πεπιστευμένων, Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι παροιμιῶν, Περὶ θεῶν βιβλία
5 ρ', καὶ ἄλλα σύμμικτα.

2 SUET. *Tib.* 56: Nihilo lenior (*sc.* Tiberius) in convictores Graeculos, quibus vel maxime adquiescebat (...). item cum soleret ex lectione cotidiana quaestiones super cenam proponere comperissetque Seleucum grammaticum a ministris suis perquirere, quos quoque tempore tractaret auctores, atque ita 10 praeparatum venire, primum a contubernio removit, deinde etiam ad mortem compulit.

3 (a) SCHOL. ARISTOPH. *Thesm.* 840 (F 71 M.): Πολλάκις εἶπον, ὅτι προβάλλει ὁ Ὄμηρικός ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Πολύβιον προτατικῷ, τίς ἡ Υπερβόλου μήτηρ. **(b)** SCHOL. ARISTOPH. *Thesm.* 1175 (F 72 M.): Βαρβαρικὸν καὶ Περσικὸν 15 ὄρχημα ὄκλασμα καλεῖται, περὶ οὐδὲ Ιόβας (275 F 18) μακρὸν πεποίηται λόγον ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῆς θεατρικῆς ιστορίας, ὥστε λελύσθαι τὴν Σελεύκου πρότασιν. προτείνει γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ζήνωνα προτατικῷ <τί> τὸ Περσικὸν ὄκλασμα.

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΒΙΩΝ

1 HARP. p. 222,10-17 DINDORF (ο 19 KEANEY) s.v. Ὄμηρίδαι· Ἰσοκράτης Ἐλένη (10,65). Ὄμηρίδαι γένος ἐν Χίῳ, ὅπερ Ἀκουσίλαος ἐν γ' (2 F 2), 20 Ἐλλάνικος ἐν τῇ Ἀτλαντιάδι (4 F 20) ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ φησιν ὀνομάσθαι.

⁴ βιβλία ... σύμμικτα *om.* V ⁵ καὶ ἄλλα σύμμικτα *A* : Σύμμικτα καὶ ἄλλα *M.* Schmidt (1855: 799) ¹³ ὁ Ὄμηρικός *Dindorf* : ὄμηρικῶς *cod.* ¹⁷ *tí suppl.* Wilamowitz ²⁰ Ἀτλαντιάδι *pl.* : Ἀγλαντιάδι *G*

1056 (= 341/634). Seleucus of Alexandria

(1st cent. B.C.–1st cent. A.D.)

T

1 Seleucus of Alexandria, grammarian, who was called *Homerikos*. He taught rhetoric in Rome. He wrote commentaries on (as it were) every poet, *On the Differences of Synonyms*, *On False Beliefs*, *On the Proverbs of the Alexandrians*, *On Gods* in 100 books, and other miscellaneous works.

2 With no less severity he (*sc.* Tiberius) treated his Greek companions, towards whom he was usually most indulgent (...). Likewise he removed the grammarian Seleucus first from his company and then compelled him to commit suicide, when he heard—being used to put forward questions from his daily reading at dinner—that Seleucus inquired from his servants which authors he was reading at the time and came thus prepared.

3 (a) I often said that the *Homerikos* presents in his *A Problem for Polybius* the question of who Hyperbolus' mother is. **(b)** *Oklasma* is the name of a barbarian and a Persian dance, which is extensively treated by Juba in his books *On the History of the Theatre* so that Seleucus' question is solved. For in his *A Problem for Zenon* he presents the question of what is the Persian *oklisma*.

F

ON LIVES

1 *Homeridae*: Isocrates in the *Helena*. The *Homeridai* are a family in Chios whom Acusilaus in the third book and Hellanicus in his *Atlantias* say were

Σέλευκος δὲ ἐν β' Περὶ βίων ἀμαρτάνειν φησὶ Κράτητα νομίζοντα ἐν ταῖς Ἱεροποιίαις (362 F 5) Ὁμηρίδας ἀπογόνους εἶναι τοῦ ποιητοῦ ὀνομάσθησαν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ὄμήρων, ἐπεὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ποτε τῶν Χίων ἐν Διονυσίοις παραφρονήσασαι εἰς μάχην ἥλθον τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ δόντες ἀλλήλοις ὅμηρα 25 νυμφίους καὶ νύμφας ἐπαύσαντο, ὃν τοὺς ἀπογόνους Ὁμηρίδας λέγουσιν.

ΠΕΡΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ

2 DIOG. LAERT. 3,109: Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἔλλος Πλάτων φιλόσοφος Ῥόδιος, μαθητὴς Πανακτίου (F 157 VAN STRAATEN), καθά φησι Σέλευκος ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ φιλοσοφίας.

3 DIOG. LAERT. 9,11-12: Τὰ δὲ περὶ Σωκράτους καὶ ὅσα ἐντυχὼν τῷ συγγράμματι (*sc.* Ἡρακλείτου) εἴποι, κομίσαντος Εὐριπίδου καθά φησιν Ἀρίστων (F 29 WEHRLI VI), ἐν τῷ περὶ Σωκράτους εἰρήκαμεν. Σέλευκος μέντοι φησὶν ὁ γραμματικὸς Κρότωνά τινα ιστορεῖν ἐν τῷ Κατακολυμβητῇ Κράτητά τινα πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κομίσαι τὸ βιβλίον· ὃν καὶ εἰπεῖν Δηλίου τινὸς δεῖσθαι κολυμβητοῦ, ὃς οὐκ ἀποπνιγήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ.

²¹ βίων G : βίον pl ³³ ὃν P : om. BF

named after Homer. Seleucus in the second book *On Lives* says that Crates in his *Festivals* was mistaken in his belief that the Homeridai were descendants of the poet. In fact, they were named after the hostages (*sc. homeroi*), since once at the Dionysia the Chian women became frenzied and went to fight with the men, and they stopped only after they had given bridegrooms and brides to each other as hostages, the descendants of whom they call *Homeridai*.

ON PHILOSOPHY

2 There was also another Plato, a philosopher from Rhodes, a pupil of Panactius, as Seleucus the Grammarian says in his first book *On Philosophy*.

3 About Socrates and what he said when he came across the book (*sc. of Heraclitus*), which was brought to him by Euripides according to Ariston, I have spoken in the chapter on Socrates. But Seleucus the Grammarian says that a certain Croton related in his *Diver* that a certain Crates was the first to bring the book to Greece, and that it was he too who said it needed a Delian diver not to drown in the work.

1056 (= 341/634). Seleucus of Alexandria

(1st cent. B.C.–1st cent. A.D.)

Introduction

The grammarian Seleucus¹ can be securely dated to the time of Augustus and Tiberius. He came from Alexandria, but lived in Rome, where we find him in the learned circles of the Tiberian court. Like Augustus Tiberius seems to have assembled a lot of Greek scholars for his intellectual edification. They are little more than mere names to us, but it is at least possible to get some notion of the prevailing literary climate in the Imperial household. We hear of Theodorus of Gadara, Tiberius' teacher, of Potamon from Mytilene (1085), of Polybius and Zenon, and finally of Apion of Oasis (1057). S. seems to have been on particularly good terms with Polybius and Zenon (T 3), since he dedicated some of his treatises to them. He may have met them at Tiberius' dinner-table, where he was required to entertain the emperor by answering questions on literature. If Suetonius is to be believed, S.'s downfall was finally caused by his over-eagerness to please Tiberius. When Tiberius found out that S. prepared himself for the sessions by inquiring into his reading list, he had him removed from court and forced him to commit suicide (T 2). In his scholarly interests S. is comparable to the grammarian Didymus, who is slightly his elder, and Apion. Most noteworthy is his research on Homer, which earned him the name ὁμηρικός (T 1; 3). His extensive oeuvre is almost completely lost, although S.'s studies on language left some traces in the etymological dictionaries and what seems to be an excerpt of his *Collection of Alexandrian Proverbs*² is still extant. Among the known titles of his works two, Περὶ βίων (F 1) and Περὶ φιλοσοφίας (F 2), relate to biography. It is difficult to reach certain conclusions about the content and the scope of these works, because evidence on them is scanty. The first may have been a collec-

¹ On S. in general see MAASS (1880: 33–36); MUELLER (1891: 1–33); REITZENSTEIN (1897: 157–173); MÜLLER (1921: 1251–1256); JACOBY'S introduction to *FGrHist* 341; KAPLAN (1990: 229–231). Most of the fragments have been collected by M. MUELLER [= M.] and REITZENSTEIN [= R.]; for further additions (especially POxy. II 221 col. XV [no. 1205 PACK²]) cf. MÜLLER (1921: 1254). There is much need for a new complete edition of the grammatical fragments.

² On the different theories cf. BÜHLER (1987: 61 n. 18).

tion of biographies. There are works by Dicaearchus³ and Timotheus of Athens (1079) with the same title, which contained biographies of philosophers. One should also take into account the possibility that Περὶ βίων might only be a short title and that the collection of lives referred to could in fact be S.'s work Περὶ φιλοσοφίας⁴, which, to judge by its title, was either a history of philosophy or a collection of philosophers' lives. As the case of Anaxilides (1095) shows, such works could be variously referred to as περὶ φιλοσοφίας or περὶ φιλοσόφων, both genres being closely related anyway.

Commentary on the Testimonies and the Fragments

T

(1) The Suda's list of titles is far from complete and is marred by some textual difficulties at the end. It begins with the general remark that S. wrote commentaries on numerous poets. In this group might be included S.'s work on Hesiod⁵, his ὑπόμνημα εἰς τοὺς λυρικούς⁶, his ὑπόμνημα τῶν Σόλωνος ἀξόνων⁷, and above all his various writings on Homer, especially his treatise κατὰ τῶν Ἀριστάρχου σημείων in three books⁸. The Suda then goes on to list some specific antiquarian works by name, a treatise on synonyms, probably similar in kind to Ammonius' dictionary, a treatise *On False Beliefs*, a *Collection of Alexandrian Proverbs*, and a work *On Gods*⁹. At this point the text is impaired by an evident inaccuracy, since a hundred volumes are

³ F 40 WEHRLI I.

⁴ MENAGIUS (1833: 394) on DIOG. 9,12; MÜLLER, *FHG* III, p. 500.

⁵ Cf. F 27–33 M.; and MÜLLER (1921: 1254).

⁶ The title, attributed by the SUDA σ 201 to the poet S. of Emesa, should rather be given to the grammarian, cf. MÜLLER (1921: 1255); and F 28 R., where a fourth book on Simonides is referred to.

⁷ *FGrHist* 341 F 1–2.

⁸ Cf. F 1–26 M.; POXY. II 221 (no. 1205 PACK²); WILAMOWITZ (1900: 37–39); MÜLLER (1921: 1254).

⁹ MÜLLER (1921: 1254); but cf. JACOBY'S introduction on *FGrHist* 341, p. 93.

accorded to this last work. The number must either be corrupted or it must refer to the total number of S.s. books¹⁰. The end of the list offers another difficulty. There one should probably read Σύμμικτα καὶ ἄλλα, because Σύμμικτα seems to be a title. Moreover, the addition of an adjective to ἄλλα at this point would be otiose and unusual in the language of the Suda¹¹. Again several titles must be added: First of all, S.s γλῶσσαι, in which S. explained rare words¹², then a work called Περὶ ἐλληνισμοῦ in at least five books¹³, and finally the two books of his *Problems* for Zenon and Polybius (T 3).

(2) Tiberius' extreme fondness for obscure learning and antiquarian knowledge is also noted elsewhere in our sources¹⁴. He was an expert in mythology, as is also shown by his famous palace in Sperlonga¹⁵, and liked to harass his grammarians with difficult philosophical questions. He asked them, for example, who Hecuba's mother was, which name Achilles had at Scyrus, and what the Sirenes used to sing.

(3) S.s προτατικά belong to the ζητήματα-literature, in which questions arising from scholarly reading are put forward and solved in a more or less ingenious way. This particular genre clearly stages a literary enactment of the symposiastic practice of entertaining one another with learned riddles (T 2), from which it may well have taken its origins. The most famous exponents of the genre are Aristotle and especially Aristarchus, in whose footsteps S. seems to have followed elsewhere, too¹⁶. Although most works we know are concerned with Homer, this kind of literature was not limited to him, but also dealt with other authors¹⁷. Indeed, it seems that S. himself put forward some questions on comedy in his treatises¹⁸. Both works are dedicated to Greek scholars living at Tiberius' court. Polybius is probably to be

identified with the *libertus* of Augustus, who wrote his testament¹⁹, Zenon seems to be another of Tiberius' Greek *convictores*, Zenon of Myndus, who was also maltreated by the emperor²⁰.

F

(1) Although S. is quoted without any further specification, the attribution of the fragment to him appears to be certain, because the polemic seems to be directed against Crates of Athens²¹, whom S. criticizes elsewhere as well, and the rare information on the *Homeridae*²² fits well into the picture we get of S. from his grammatical writings²³.

(2) Plato, the pupil of Panaetius, remains completely obscure²⁴. The information is part of a list of homonyms appended to the life of Plato by Diogenes. Although this type of lists goes back in substance to Demetrius Magnes, the contemporary of Cicero, it is clear that Diogenes used a later, slightly enlarged version. Thus, there is no problem in attributing the fragment to S. of Alexandria, who is, moreover, specified as γραμματικός²⁵.

(3) The fragment must be derived from S.s work Περὶ φιλοσοφίας, to which Diogenes refers in F 2. It contains a variant version of an anecdote told about Socrates. When Socrates came across Heraclitus' work, he said—commenting on its difficulty—that it needed a Delian diver not to drown in it²⁶. S. has obviously transferred the story to an obscure Crates. It is difficult to tell whether Diogenes understood his source correctly. He probably had the same problems as we do in identifying Croton and Crates. The name Croton in particular seems unusual for a real person. It may be corrupted out of the name for the city or an ethnikon, but it is perhaps rather to

¹⁰ DAUB (1882: 119); MÜLLER (1921: 1254).

¹¹ Cf. MÜLLER (1921: 1255); *FGrHist* 341 F 3-5.

¹² F 36-68 M.

¹³ F 69-70 M.; cf. also F 1-65 R., which might also belong to it. It is a crucial question whether the γλῶσσαι should be identified with Περὶ ἐλληνισμοῦ, as seems to be implied by GÄRTNER (1975: 89). Perhaps it is better to keep both works distinct.

¹⁴ Cf. SUET. *Tib.* 70; PLUT. *De def. or.* 17 p. 419 D; CICORIUS (1922: 348); on Tiberius' literary tastes in general see also WALLACE-HADRILL (1983: 84); GOODYEAR (1984: 605).

¹⁵ Cf. ANDREAE (1994: 128-131).

¹⁶ LEHRS (1882: 219-221); PFEIFFER (1968: 69-71).

¹⁷ DEUBNER (1982: 197).

¹⁸ On the διλασμα see also KASSEL (1991: 260).

¹⁹ Cf. on him HANSLIK (1952: 1578-1579); KIENAST (1982: 262 n. 363).

²⁰ Cf. GÄRTNER (1972: 143-144).

²¹ Cf. *FGrHist* 362 F 5.

²² For further comment see *FGrHist* 2 F 2; 4 F 20.

²³ Cf., however, JACOBY on *FGrHist* 341, p. 93.

²⁴ Cf. on him VAN STRAATEN (1946: 223); SCHMIDT (1950: 2542).

²⁵ *Contra JACOBY*, *FGrHist* 341, p. 93.

²⁶ DIOG. LAERT. 2,22: φασὶ δὲ Εὐριπίδην αὐτῷ δόντα τὸ Ἡρακλείτου σύγγραμμα ἐρέσθαι: “τί δοκεῖ,” τὸν δὲ φάναι, “ἄ μὲν συνῆκα, γενναῖα: οἴμαι δὲ καὶ ἄ μὴ συνῆκα: πλὴν Δηλίου γέ τινος δεῖται κοιλυμβητοῦ.”

be regarded as a poor fiction on S.s part. This also seems to be suggested by the strange title of the work *The Diver*, which looks like an *ad hoc* invention to introduce the subsequent proverb²⁷.

²⁷ For the proverb cf. also SUDA δ 400 s.v. Δηλίου κολυμβητοῦ (= DIOG. LAERT. 2,22); and CRUSIUS (1889: 382-384).

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1057 (= 616). Apion of Oasis/Alexandria
(1st half 1st cent. A.D.)

T

13 PLIN. *Nat. hist. praef.* 25: Apion quidem grammaticus—hic quem Tiberius Caesar cymbalum mundi vocabat, cum propriae famae tympanum potius videri posset—immortalitate donari a se scripsit ad quos aliqua componebat.

F

22 (+ T 14b) GELL. 7,8,1-2: Ἀπίων, Graecus homo, qui Πλειστονείκης appellatus est, facili atque alacri facundia fuit. is cum de Alexandri regis laudibus scribebat: “Victi” inquit “hostis uxorem, facie incluta mulierem, vetuit in conspectum suum deduci, ut eam ne oculis quidem suis contingeret.”

1057. (= 616). Apion of Oasis/Alexandria
(1st half 1st cent. A.D.)

T

13 However, Apion the Grammician,—the one whom the Emperor Tiberius used to call “cymbal of the world”, though he could rather appear to be a drum of his own fame wrote that he gave immortality to those on whom he composed something.

F

22 Apion, a Greek, who was called Plistonices, possessed an effortless and lively eloquence. Writing on the virtues of king Alexander he said: “He forbade the wife of his conquered enemy, a woman of famous beauty, to be brought to his sight, lest he should touch her even with his eyes.”

1057 (= 616). Apion of Oasis/Alexandria

(1st half 1st cent. A.D.)

Introduction

Apion¹, nicknamed *Plistonices* or *Mochthus*², belongs to the celebrated grammarians of the Julio-Claudian times. Born in Egyptian Oasis (El Kargeh), he lived afterwards in Alexandria and became a citizen there³. Like many other scholars, he moved at some point to Rome, where he is said to have run a school of rhetoric during the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius⁴. He apparently maintained good relations with the Imperial court. Tiberius jestingly called him “cymbal of the world”⁵, and in A.D. 39/40 he was chosen as head of an embassy sent by the Greek population of Alexandria to Caligula to represent its case, after there had been some anti-Semitic rioting in the city⁶. It is this mission—known to us mainly from the *Legatio ad Gaium*, written by A.s Jewish counter-ambassador Philo—for which A. is most notorious. So incredibly successful was his denunciation of the Jews before the emperor that Caligula consequently did not even listen to the Jewish envoys. The arguments A. used on the occasion were probably similar to those he propounded in his main oeuvre, the *History of Egypt*. This extensive work in five books, which is partly preserved thanks to Josephus’ answer in his *Contra Apionem* to A.s slanderous remarks on the Jews, seems to have also made some impact on the

¹ For a full collection of the testimonies and fragments see *FGrHist* 616, which is referred to in what follows. I only give the texts which may pertain to biography.

² T 1-2. *Plistonices* (supreme champion) is hardly the father’s name, cf. COHN (1894: 2803); SCHMID II 1 (1920: 437) contra SCHÜRER III (1909: 538-539 [604-7]); HOLFORD-STREVENS (1988: 50). It was misunderstood by the Suda, which gives the genitive Πλειστονίκου. Altogether, the Suda’s entry on A., which might go back to Hermippus of Berytus (1061), does not inspire much confidence, cf. JACOBY’s adnotation in his apparatus criticus. A.s connection with Didymus looks especially odd, and should perhaps not be taken as seriously as it usually is, cf. e.g. NEITZEL (1977: 189). It looks like an invented relationship, possibly inspired by some similarity between the *Chalcenterus* and the *Plistonices* as to the vast amount of erudition amassed in their works. The Suda’s statement that A. was a contemporary of Dionysius of Halicarnassus is equally suspicious, since A. seems to be a generation younger. The synchronism should be rather between Theon, A.s teacher, and Dionysius. Perhaps the Suda simply misunderstood its source.

³ T 4; and NEITZEL (1977: 189).

⁴ T 1.

⁵ T 13.

⁶ T 6.

antiquarian literature⁷. It was used as a source by Pliny the Elder⁸ and also Gellius⁹. Furthermore, A. acquired some fame for his studies on Homer, reflected especially in his *Homeric Glosses*¹⁰, which stand in the long tradition of Alexandrian scholarship and seem to have had some influence on later authors¹¹. In general, A. must have been a prolific writer. There is some indication that he also composed some biographies or encomia, as one would indeed expect of such an author. He boasted that he would confer immortality on those on whom he wrote¹², a bold claim that perhaps stood at the beginning of an encomium or a biography. The praise of Alexander the Great (F 22) might have belonged to such a work¹³, though a laudatory mention of the *heros ktistes* of Alexandria could equally well have formed part of the *History of Egypt*¹⁴. In fact, since the source of the fragment is Gellius, who refers to A.s *History* elsewhere without mentioning other works, the latter solution seems to be slightly preferable¹⁵. There is also a work entitled *On the Luxury of Apicius* (Περὶ τῆς Ἀπικίου τρυφῆς)¹⁶. This was probably not so much a biography as an antiquarian treatise on luxury, particularly on rare and expensive dishes, which was commonly connected with the name of Apicius. The treatise Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς¹⁷, which went under the name of Aristippus, is per-

⁷ T 10-12; 15; F 1-21.

⁸ T 16 (?); F 14-17; 19.

⁹ F 5-7; HOLFORD-STREVENS (1988: 171; 230).

¹⁰ NEITZEL (1977: 213-326); and the additions made by THEODORIDIS (1989: 345-350).

¹¹ NEITZEL (1977: 207-209).

¹² That poetry (and the poet as its medium) has the power to confer immortality on its objects is an old literary topos. Concerning prose works this claim seems to have been first stated by ISOCHR. *Or.* 9,4: ὁ δὲ λόγος, εἰ καλῶς διέλθοι τάς ἐκείνου πράξεις, ἀείμνηστον ὃν τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν Εὐαγόρου παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ποιήσειν. Parallels are e.g. TAC. *Agr.* 46,4 and PLIN. *Eph.* 3,10,6. Cf. also Gow on THEOCR. *Id.* 16,30; VOLLMER on STAT. *Silv.* 5,1,1; RADICKE (1997: 462-465).

¹³ Cf. MÜLLER, *FHG* III, p. 506, who lists it separately; and GUTSCHMID (1893: 360-361).

¹⁴ COHN (1894: 2803-2806) does not mention a separate work on Alexander; JACOBY (p. 126) lists F 22 among the fragments that might belong to the Αἰγυπτιακά.

¹⁵ Its difficult to tell whether Gellius himself still read the work in the original version. Since he quotes A. only for marvels, it might seem that the stories were mediated to him by some collection like that of his friend Favorinus.

¹⁶ F 24; 31 (?). Pliny probably still had access to this book, from which he took some information on fishes (T 16). This seems to be suggested especially by his remarks on the *acipenser* in *Nat. hist.* 9,60, which are parallel to ATHEN. 7,44 p. 294 F 24).

¹⁷ Cf. WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF (1881: 47-53); SUSEMIHL I (1891: 325-327); GIANNANTONI (1958: 59-60), who also gives the fragments under Aristippus, A 163-170.

haps not entirely comparable, even though it bears a similar title, since it seems to have focused on the extravagant life-style of philosophers rather than on the theme of luxury itself. However, it might suggest that such works could also contain a lot of biographical gossip.

Commentary on the Fragment

(22) The fair treatment accorded to Darius' wife and mother after Alexander's victory at Issus (333 B.C.) has a firm place in the historiographical and biographical tradition on Alexander¹⁸. The story serves to illustrate the generosity and the perfect self-control of the victor. The exaggerated version that Alexander did not even wish to see Darius' beautiful wife is also to be found in other sources¹⁹. The chapter in Gellius, who compares Alexander and Scipio Africanus, seems to have inspired Ammianus Marcellinus²⁰.

¹⁸ Cf. DIOD. *Bibl.* 17,37,3-38,7; PLUT. *Alex.* 21; ARR. *Anab.* 2,12,3-8; CURT. *Alex. M.* 3,12,1-26; IUSTIN. 11,9,12-16; ATHEN. 13,80 p. 603 C.

¹⁹ PLUT. *De Alex. M. fort.* 2,6 p. 338 E; *De cur.* 13 p. 522 A: ὅμοιώς οὐδ' ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς ὄψιν ἤλθε τῆς Δαρείου γυναικὸς ἐκπρεπεστάτης εἶναι λεγομένης; and similarly FRONTIN. *Strat.* 2,11,6: *Alexandrum quoque Macedonem traditum est eximiae pulchritudinis virginis captivae, cum finitima gentis principi fuisset desponsa, summa abstinentia ita pepercisse ut illam ne aspicerit quidem.*

²⁰ AMM. MARC. 24,4,27: *ex virginibus autem, quae speciosae sunt captae, ut in Perside, ubi feminarum pulchritudo excellit, nec contrectare aliquam voluit (sc. Julianus) nec videre Alexandrum imitatus et Africanum.* On Ammianus' use of Gellius cf. in general HOLFORD-STREVEN'S (1988: 16; 57).

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1058. Ischomachus
(1st cent. B.C.–1st cent. A.D.)

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΑΙΡΕΣΕΩΣ

1 VITA HIPPOCRATIS (CMG IV, p. 175) 3: κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Πελοποννησιακοὺς ἡκμασε (sc. Ἰπποκράτης) χρόνους γεννηθείς, ὡς φησιν Ἰσχόμαχος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τῆς Ἰπποκράτους αἱρέσεως, κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος (...).

Untitled Fragments

5 2 VITA HIPPOCRATIS BRUXELL. 8: sed ex iuramento scripsit (sc. Hippocrates) in secundis, ut multi memorant, libros quattuor, *De articulis* unum, *De fracturis* unum, et *Prognosticum*, et unum *Regularem*. sed ut Ischomachus Bithyniensis affirmat, ab eo perscriptum *Regularem* Heraclides Ephesius adiecit.

3 EROT. 1 20 s.v. ἵκταρ (...) οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἰσχόμαχον καὶ Κυδίαν τὸν Μυλασέα
10 ἔγραψαν ἵκμαρ. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου ἡ τῆς λέξεως ἄγνοια.

4 EROT. SCHOL. (R^H) HIPPOCR. *Epid.* 5,7 (EROT. F 17 p. 103,13-16 N.):
κοχώνην (...) Γλαυκίας (F 349 DEICHGRÄBER) δὲ καὶ Ἰσχόμαχος καὶ Ἰππώναξ
(F 151 b WEST; 202 DEGANI) τὰ ισχία.

² Ἰσχόμαχος C. *Keil*: ιστόμ- *cod.* ⁵ sed ex iuramento A : post iuramentum B ⁶ unum A : *om.* B ⁶⁻⁷ *De fracturis* unum A : et de fracturis B ⁷ et¹ A : post hoc B || progn- B : pron- A || et unum A : exinde B || ut Ischomachus *scripti duce Schöne* : Ischomarcus A : ut Comarcus B || Bithyniensis : Bitin- A : Bitin- B ⁸ Heraclides A : Er- B || Ephesius : Ef(l)- AB ¹² κοχώνην *Daremberg* : κογχ- R^H

1058. Ischomachus
(1st cent. B.C.–1st cent. A.D.)

F

ON THE SCHOOL OF HIPPOCRATES

1 He (sc. Hippocrates) flourished during the times of the Peloponnesian War having been born, as Ischomachus says in the first book of his *On the School of Hippocrates*, in the first year of the 80th Olympiad, (...).

Untitled Fragments

2 But after the *Oath* he (sc. Hippocrates) wrote in second place, as many record, the following four books: one book *On Joints*, one *On Fractures*, one *Prognostic*, one *Regimen*. But as Ischomachus of Bithynia affirms, the *Regimen*, written by him, was added (sc. to the canon) by Heraclides of Ephesus.

3 *iktar* (...) Ischomachus and Cydias of Mylasa have written *ikmar*. The reason is that they do not know the word.

4 *kochone* (...). Glaucias and Ischomachus and Hipponax call the haunches thus.

1058. Ischomachus
(1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.)

Introduction

Ischomachus of Bithynia can be roughly dated to the period of the 1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.¹ His work suggests that he was a physician. A firm *terminus ante quem* is provided by Erotianus, the Neronian physician, who quotes him twice (F 3 and 4). A *terminus post quem* may be obtained from F 2. He wrote several books *On the School of Hippocrates*, which obviously included a biography of its founder and which were used by Soranus (1062). The two references in Erotianus may well go back to them². However, it is possible that I. also wrote a dictionary, although Erotianus does not list him amongst the lexicographers on Hippocrates in his preface.

Commentary on the Fragments

(1) I. dates Hippocrates' birth to 460 B.C. and thereby synchronizes Hippocrates' life-time perfectly with Democritus'. The date probably goes back ultimately to Apollodorus³.

(2) Although there is an obscure surgeon called Heraclides of Ephesus, the reference seems to be rather to the famous commentator on Hippocrates, Heraclides of Tarent, who also wrote on dietetics and can be dated to the first century B.C.⁴ The *ethnikon* was probably just confused by the later tradition.

(3) I. is quoted together with Cydias and severely censured by Erotianus for a different spelling of the word *iktar*. The expression (*οι περὶ κτλ.*) does not imply that there was a group of people, but probably just serves as a periphrasis for the two authors mentioned⁵.

¹ There is no article in the *RE* on him. Probably this is due to the fact that his name suffers from much corruption. He is called Ισθόμαχος in F 1; *Ischomarcus* (*Comarus*) in F 2.

² Cf. KIND (1927: 1115).

³ Cf. on 1062. SORANUS F 2.

⁴ Cf. on him GOSSEN (1912: 493-496); DEICHGRÄBER (1930: 172-202; 258-261); and on 1062. SORANUS F 4.

⁵ On the periphrastic use of *οι* (*αι* etc.) *περὶ* c. acc. see KG I, p. 270; RADT (1980: 50-56) and (1988: 35-38).

Cydias is only known from Erotianus. He seems to be identical with the Herophilean physician quoted in Erotianus' preface⁶. Since I. is grouped together with him, he may well belong to the same medical school.

(4) I. is quoted together with Glaucias and Hipponax for the same explanation of the word *kochone*⁷. The Empiric Glaucias, one of the first commentators of Hippocrates, is mentioned several times by Erotianus. He is usually dated to the 1st half of the 2nd century B.C.⁸ Hipponax is completely obscure. He is probably not the iambographer. He may be either a grammarian⁹ or a physician¹⁰, neither solution being entirely satisfactory¹¹.

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⁶ Cf. EROT. *Praef.* p. 5,13 N.

⁷ Cf. also ARISTOPH. F 558 K.-A.

⁸ Cf. GOSSEN (1910: 1399) and (1918: 785); DEICHGRÄBER (1930: 168-170; 257-258).

⁹ See BERGK (1882: 499-500), who compares ATHEN. 11,61 p. 480 F, where the name was, however, changed by Dobree to Ερυθρώξ.

¹⁰ GOSSEN (1913: 1907); on the basis of Aetius (PLUT. *Placit. phil.* 5,7 p. 905 E-F; GALEN. *Hist. philos.* 111, p. 641,14-15 DIELS, *Doxogr.*).

¹¹ For a discussion of the various solutions cf. DEGANI (1991: 177; 186).

1059 (= 563). Timocrates of Heraclea?
(2nd half 1st cent. A.D.)

F

ΔΙΩΝ

- 1 DIOG. LAERT. 7,2: διήκουσε δέ *sc.* Ζήνων, καθάπερ προείρηται, Κράτητος· εἶτα καὶ Στίλπωνος ἀκοῦσαι φασιν αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοκράτους ἔτη δέκα, ώς
3 Τιμοκράτης ἐν τῷ Δίωνι ἀλλὰ καὶ Πολέμωνος.

1059 (= 563). Timocrates of Heraclea?
(2nd half 1st cent. A.D.)

F

DION

- 1 He (*sc.* Zenon) was a disciple of Crates, as stated above. Furthermore it is told that he was also a pupil of Stilpon, and of Xenocrates for ten years, as Timocrates says in his *Dion*, but also of Polemon.

1059 (= 563). Timocrates of Heraclea?

(2nd half 1st cent. A.D.)

Introduction

Although Timocrates is difficult to identify, it is likely that he belongs to the Imperial period. A *terminus post quem* seems to be provided by Stoic Apollonius of Tyrus, who lived in the first century B.C.¹. T.s work *Dion* may have been a biography or monograph, or, if the title is preserved correctly, even a speech² or dialogue. The interest in Dion would very much fit in with the times of Plutarch and Arrian (1069). Thus, T. of Heraclea, teacher of the sophist Polemon³, who lived towards the end of the 1st century A.D., seems to be a good candidate⁴. His intellectual profile is quite similar to that of Dio Chrysostom. He is called φιλόσοφος by our sources and associated with the Stoic Euphrates. In short, he combines all the qualities one would expect of an author who produced some pseudo-learned remarks on Zenon's life.

Commentary on the Fragment

(1) T. is cited by Diogenes for the variant that Xenocrates was Zenon's teacher, which is clearly fictitious. To see how this came about, it seems necessary first to recall the data on Zenon's life. Although Zenon's death is unanimously assigned to the archonship of Arrhenides (262/61 B.C.)⁵, his age differs in our sources. The correct age seems to be given by Persaeus, a pupil of Zenon, who tells us that Zenon died at the age of 72 years, i.e. he was born in 334/33 B.C.⁶ Apollonius of Tyrus, on the contrary, says that Zenon died at the age

¹ On Apollonius cf. STRAB. *Geogr.* 16,2,24 p. 757 C.: καὶ μικρὸν πρὸ ήμῶν Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ τὸν πίνακα ἐκθεῖς τῶν ἀπὸ Ζήνωνος φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν βιβλίων; WILAMOWITZ (1881: 106-112). Thus, an identification with T., the Epicurean apostate, is excluded, cf. JACOBY (1902: 367) and his commentary on *FGrHist* 563, p. 523.

² Cf. PERNOT I (1993: 472) for a collection of titles.

³ PHILOSTR. *Vit. soph.* 1,25f p. 46,23-47,15 K.; LUCIAN. *Demon.* 3; SUDA π 1889 s.v. Πολέμων; CAPELLE (1936: 1270-1271).

⁴ JACOBY, *FGrHist* 563, p. 523.

⁵ On the dating of Arrhenides cf. DORANDI (1990a: 36) and (1990b: 131).

⁶ The assertion that Zenon was a pupil of Polemon fits in with this chronology, cf. JACOBY (1902: 365), since Polemon was head of the Academy from 314/13 to 268/64 B.C., cf. DORANDI (1991: 3-6).

of 98 presiding over his school for 58 years. This difference of more than 25 years is striking but easily explained. The starting point is a fictitious letter from Zenon to Antigonus Gonatas⁷, on which Apollonius' entire calculation depends⁸. In this letter Zenon wrote that he was 80 years old. Relying on this pseudographic tradition Apollonius developed a completely new chronology. Dating Zenon's letter roughly to the beginning of Antigonus' reign (279/78 B.C.) and adding up the years till 262/61 B.C. he arrived at 98 as the number of Zenon's years. Putting the foundation of the school at Zenon's *floruit*, i.e. in his 40th year, there were 58 years left for Zenon's presidency. Keeping this chronology in mind, it is easy to see how T.s statement that Zenon was a pupil of Xenocrates could arise. If according to this chronology Zenon was born about 360/59 B.C., the time of his philosophical instruction was thought to be from 340 B.C. until the foundation of the school. As a brief look at a chronological table would reveal, Xenocrates was head of the Academy from 339/38 until 314/13 B.C.⁹ Hence Zenon must have been his pupil. Although coherent in itself, the reconstruction has of course no foundation in historical fact¹⁰. T. perhaps mentioned Zenon in a side-reference to Xenocrates, when speaking about his journey to the Syracusan court in the company of Plato.

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⁷ DIOG. LAERT. 7,8-9.

⁸ Cf. ROHDE I (1901: 190-191); JACOBY (1902: 364-367), whose dates, however, slightly differ, because they put the archonship of Arrhenides at 264/3 B.C.

⁹ For Xenocrates' date see KRÄMER (1983: 45-46).

¹⁰ WILAMOWITZ (1881: 111); JACOBY (1902: 367).

1060 (= 790). Philo of Byblus
(1st -2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 SUDA φ 447 s.v. Φίλων, Βύβλιος: γραμματικός. οὗτος γέγονεν ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων τῶν ἐγγὺς Νέρωνος, καὶ παρέτεινεν εἰς μακρόν ὑπατον γοῦν Σεβῆρον τὸν Ἐρέννιον χρηματίσαντα αὐτὸς εἶναι φησιν, ὅταν ἦγεν τῇ καὶ οὕτος, ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ καὶ διακοσιοστῇ. γέγραπται δὲ αὐτῷ Περὶ κτήσεως καὶ 5 ἐκλογῆς βιβλίων βιβλία ἱβ̄. Περὶ πόλεων καὶ οὓς ἔκαστη αὐτῶν ἐνδόξους ἤνεγκε βιβλία λ̄. Περὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀδριανοῦ – ἐφ' οὖ καὶ ἦν ὁ Φίλων – καὶ ἄλλα. (...)

2 (F 1 DEL CORNO) SUDA ε 3045 s.v. Ἔρμιππος, Βηρύτιος, ἀπὸ κώμης μεσογαίου, μαθητὴς Φίλωνος τοῦ Βυβλίου· ὑφ' οὖ ὁ κειώθη Ἐρεννίῳ Σενήρῳ 10 (1061 T 1) ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔκδουλος ὥν γένος, λόγιος σφόδρα· καὶ ἔγραψε πολλά. ἔγραψε καὶ περὶ ὄνειρων.

4 cf. 1082. AELIUS SERENUS T 1.

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ

ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΣ ΕΚΑΣΤΗ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΝΔΟΞΟΥΣ ΗΝΕΓΚΕΝ Λ-Λ
(T 1; 4)

15 STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἀμισός: (...) ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ (...) <τὸ ἐθνικὸν> Ἀμισηνός.
λέγεται καὶ Ἀμίσιος, ὡς Φίλων ἐν τῷ Περὶ πόλεων.
15 16 STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἀνδανίᾳ· πόλις Μεσσήνης, ὄμώνυμος τῇ χώρᾳ· οὗτος γάρ

1060 (= 790). Philo of Byblus
(1st – 2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 Philo of Byblus, grammarian. He lived around the time of Nero, and reached a considerable age. At least, he himself says that he stood in his 78th year when Herennius Severus was consul, in the 220th Olympiad (A.D. 101-104). His writings are: Twelve books *On the Acquisition and Choice of Books*, thirty books *About Cities and Their Famous Citizens*, *On the Rule of Hadrian*—Philo lived during his reign—, and other works.

2 Hermippus of Berytus, from an inland village, a pupil of Philo of Byblus, who introduced him to Herennius Severus at the time of the Emperor Hadrian, a slave by birth, very learned. And he wrote many things. He also wrote about dreams.

4 cf. 1082. AELIUS SERENUS T 1.

F

ON THE RULE OF HADRIAN

ABOUT CITIES AND THEIR FAMOUS CITIZENS 1-30
(T 1; 4)

15 Amisus: (...) in the Pontic region (...).<the ethnikon> is Amisenus. Amisius is also used, according to Philo in his book *About Cities*.
16 Andania: A city in Messene, with the same name as the region. Messene

² τῶν S : om. AGM ³ αὐτὸς post ὅταν transpos. Müller ⁹ τοῦ Βυβλίου om. in lac. A
⁹ Ἐρεννίῳ Küster : Ἐρεννίῳ codd. ¹¹ ἔγραψε ... ὄνειρων ex A^{marg}, cf. Adler I p. XV
¹³ τὸ ἐθνικὸν suppl. Berkel

- καὶ ἡ Μεσσήνη Ἀνδανία ἐκαλεῖτο, ἦν οἰκίσαι φασί τινας τῶν Κρεσφόντου, καὶ οὕτω καλέσαι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνδάνειν αὐτοῖς. τὸ ἔθνικὸν Ἀνδανιεύς, ὡς Φίλων ἐν τῇ Περὶ πόλεων. ἐκ ταύτης Ἀριστομένης ἐγένετο, ἐπιφανέστατος στρατηγός (...) λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀνδάνιος ὡς Ριανός (265 F 46).
- 20 **17** ΕΤΥΜ. GEN. AB (ΕΤΥΜ. MAGN. p. 149,50-55) s.v. Ἀρσινόη· πόλις ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐπὶ βουνῷ κειμένη· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ βουνοῦ πηγὰς ἔξερεύγεσθαι πλειόνας, καὶ ποταμοὺς γίνεσθαι μεγάλους, ἀφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις ὠνόμασται· ἄρσαι γὰρ τὸ ποτίσαι, ἀφ' οὐ καὶ ἄρσην ὁ τὴν γυναῖκα ποτίζων ἐν τῇ σπορᾷ. Οὔτως Σερῆνος (1082 F 1) ἐν τῇ Ἐπιτομῇ τῶν Φίλωνος.
- 25 **18** ΕΤΥΜ. GEN. AB β 209, p. 111,8-14 BERGER (ΕΤΥΜ. MAGN. p. 207,42-49) s.v. Βουκεραῖς· κρήνη ἐν Πλαταιαῖς, ἥτις ὠνομάσθη, ὅτι Πόλυνθος ἐξ Ἀργους ἐπέκτισεν Πλαταιάς μετὰ τὸν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμόν, βοὸς αὐτοῦ ἥγουμένης κατὰ χρησμόν, ὃς ποτε Κάδμου, ἦν ἐκεῖσε κατακλιθεῖσαν τῷ κέρατι πατάξαι τὴν γῆν καὶ κρήνην ἀναφανῆναι, ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ κέρατος τῆς βοὸς Βουκεραῖδα καλεῖσθαι. οὕτω Θέων ἐν τῷ ὑπομνήματι τοῦ ἀ Αἰτίων Καλλιμάχου (F 42 PFEIFFER). οὕτω καὶ Σερῆνος (1082 F 2) ἐν τῇ Ἐπιτομῇ τῶν Φίλωνος Περὶ πόλεων, Πολύϊδον λέγων τὸν λαβόντα τὸν χρησμόν.

Untitled Fragments

- 19** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἀγάθη· πόλις Λιγύων ἡ Κελτῶν· Σκύμνος δὲ Φωκαέων αὐτήν φησιν ἐν τῇ Εύρωπῃ (...) ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη πόλις, ὡς Φίλων, Λιγυστίων ἐπὶ λίμνης Λιγυστίας· τάχα δὲ ἡ αὐτή ἔστι τῇ πρώτῃ, ὡς Εῦδοξος (F 359 LASSEUR): βαρύνεται δέ τὸ ἔθνικὸν Ἀγαθίνος (...).
- 20 STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἀζανία· μέρος τῆς Ἀρκαδίας (...) καὶ ἔχει ἡ Ἀζανία πόλεις ιζ', ἀς ἔλαχεν Ἀζήν. ἔστι καὶ Μασσαλίας ἄλλη, ὡς Φίλων.
- 21 STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἀθῆναι· πόλεις κατὰ μὲν Ὄρον ε', κατὰ δὲ Φίλωνας ζ'.
- 40 **22** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Αἴγειρα· πόλις Ἀχαΐας (...) Φίλων δέ φησι Κιλικίας πόλιν εἶναι Αἴγειραν.

¹⁶ οἰκίσαι P : οἰκῖσαι V : οἰκῆσαι R ¹⁷ αὐτοῖς P : αὐτοὺς VR ²⁷ αὐτὸν AB : αὐτῷ El. Magn. ²⁸ ὡς B : καὶ A ³⁰⁻³² οὕτω ... χρησμόν A : om. B ³⁰ ὑπομνήματι Reitzenstein tacite : ὑπομνήσεως A, El. Magn. (codd. DM) ³⁴ Λιγυστίων Xylander : Λυστίων codd. : Λιγυστίνων Holstenius ³⁵ ἐπὶ Schubart : ἀπὸ codd. || Λιγυστίας Xylander : Λυστίας codd. || Εῦδοξος : Xylander : εὐδόξιος codd. ³⁸ Μασ(σ)αλίας codd. : Αιθιοπίας Berkel ⁴⁰ Κιλικίας codd. : <καὶ> Κιλικίας? Meineke

was also called Andania, which was founded, they say, by some of Cresphontes' men, and it was given this name, because they did not like (*sc.* *andanein*) it. The ethnikon is Andanieus, according to Philo in his book *About Cities*. Aristomenes, the most famous general came from it (...). Andanius is also used, according to Rhianus (...).

17 Arsinoe: A city in Syria, situated on a hill. On the hill, they say, several springs pour out, and large rivers rise, from which the city got its name, since *potisai* (*i.e.* to moisten) is equivalent to *arsai* (*sc.* to raise). Hence also the man who moistens the woman in the act of procreation is called *arsen* (*i.e.* male). Thus Serenus in his epitome of Philo's books.

18 Bukerais: A spring in Plataeae. It bears this name, because Polybus of Argos founded Plataeae after the flood in Deucalion's time, when a cow, as it had once Cadmus, guided him there as prophesied. The cow lay down at the spot and struck the ground with its horn. And a spring rose up which was called Bukerais after the horn (*i.e.* *keras*) of the cow (*i.e.* *bous*). So writes Theon in his commentary on the first book of Callimachus' *Aetia*. So also Serenus in his epitome of Philo's treatise *About Cities*, saying that it was Polyidus who received the oracle.

Untitled Fragments

- 19** Agathe: A city of the Ligurians or of the Celts, but Scymnus says in his *Europa* that it was a city of the Phocaeans (...). There is also another city, according to Philo, of the Ligurians, on the Ligurian marsh. Perhaps it is the same as the first, as Eudoxus says, but it is marked with a grave accent. The ethnikon is Agathinus (...).
- 20** Azania: A part of Arcadia (...) and Azania has 17 cities, which Azen obtained as his lot. There is also another one of Marseille, according to Philo.
- 21** Athens: Five cities according to Orus, six according to Philo.
- 22** Aegeira: A city in Achaea (...). Philo says Aegeira is a city in Cilicia.

- 23** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἀλικαρνασσός· πόλις Καρίας (...) ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἰσθμὸς καὶ Ζεφύριον, ὡς Φίλων, καὶ Ζεφυρία.
- 24** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἀλόπη· πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ἀπὸ Ἀλόπης τῆς Κερκυρόνος, ὡς Φερεκύδης (3 F 147), ἡ τῆς Ἀκτορος, ὡς Φίλων· ἔστι δὲ μεταξὺ Λαρίσσης τῆς Κρεμαστῆς καὶ Ἐχίνου. β' ἔστι καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἀλόπη· γ' Πόντου, ἀφ' ἣς Πενθεσίλεια· δ' περὶ Εὐβοιαν· ε' περὶ Δελφούς· ζ' περὶ Λοκρίδα.
- 25** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἀνθεια· πόλις Πελοποννήσου πλησίον Ἀργους, ὡς Φίλων. τὸ ἑθνικὸν Ἀνθεύς. ἔστιν Ἀνθεια καὶ τοῦ Πόντου πόλις πρὸς τὴν Θράκην (...) ἣς μέμνηται πολλοὶ καὶ Φιλέας. ἔστι καὶ κώμη Λιβύης. ἔστι καὶ Ἰταλίας Ῥώμης πλησίον, ἥτις καὶ Ἀντιον μετωνομάσθη, ὡς εἰρήσεται.
- 26** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἀντισσα· πόλις Λέσβου ἐφεξῆς τῷ Σιγρίῳ, ἀφ' ἣς Τέρπανδρος ὁ Ἀντισσαῖος, διασημότατος κιθαρωφόδος· ἀπὸ Ἀντίσσης τῆς Μάκαρος θυγατρὸς ἐν τοῖς Φίλωνος. ἔστι καὶ νῆσος μία τῶν Κυκλαδῶν· καὶ γ' Ἰνδικῆς, ἣν ἀναγράφει Φίλων καὶ Δημοδάμας ὁ Μιλήσιος (428 F 3).
- 27** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἀργουρα· πόλις Θεσσαλίας ἡ πρότερον Ἀργισσα. ἔστι καὶ τόπος τῆς Εύβοιας Ἀργουρα, ὅπου δοκεῖ τὸν Πλανόπτην Ἐρμῆς πεφονευκέναι. τὸ ἑθνικὸν δὲ ἔδει Ἀργουραῖος, ὡς καὶ Φίλων· (...)
- 28** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἀρτέμιτα· νῆσος Τυρρηνικὴ παρὰ τὴν Αιθάλειαν νῆσον, ὡς Φίλων. ὡς δὲ Στράβων (16,1,17 p. 744 C.) (...).
- 29** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἀσπίς· πόλις Λιβύης, ὡς Φίλων· (...)
- 30** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Βοβυλών· Περσικὴ πόλις, μητρόπολις, Σελεύκεια καλούμενη. κτίσμα Βαβυλώνος, ἀνδρὸς σοφωτάτου, παιδὸς Βήλου, παλαίτατον, οὐχ ὡς Ἡρόδοτος (1,184 ?) ὑπὸ Σεμιράμιδος· ταύτης γὰρ ἣν ἀρχαιοτέρα ἔτεσι ἀβ, ὡς Ἐρέννιος. ἔστι καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πόλις. (...)
- 31** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Βόσπορος· πόλις Πόντου κατὰ τὸν Κιμμέριον κόλπον, ὡς Φίλων, καὶ πορθμὸς ὄμανυμος ἀπὸ Ιοῦς <τῆς Ινάχου> καλούμενος, <καθὼς> Αἰσχύλος ἐν Προμηθεῖ δεσμώτῃ (733) <γράφει>· (...)
- 32** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Βουθόη· πόλις Ἰλλυρίδος, ὡς Φίλων, διὰ τὸ Κάδμον ἐπὶ ζεύγους βιῶν ὄχονύμενον ταχέως ἀνύσαι τὴν ἐξ Ἰλλυριοὺς ὁδὸν· οἱ δὲ τὸν Κάδμον ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας Βουτοῦς ὄνομάσαι αὐτήν, καὶ παραφθαρεῖσαν καλεῖσθαι Βουθόν.

⁴⁵ Φίλων Meineke : Φιλωνίδης codd. ⁵⁸ δὲ add. R ⁵⁹ ἀρτέμιτα V : ἀρτέμήτα (sic) R : ἀρτέμιτα P (?) || Αιθάλειαν Cluver : Θάλ- codd. ⁶³ Βήλου Salmasius ex Palatinis (?) : Μήδου RV ⁶⁵ Ἐρέννιος edd. : ἐρρένιος RP : ἐρένιος V ⁶⁶⁻⁶⁸ textum e Const. Porph. de them. 2,12 suppl. Meineke ⁶⁶⁻⁶⁷ ὡς Φίλων codd. : om. Const. Porph. ⁶⁹ Ἰλλυρίδος Xylander : -ιάδος codd.

- 23** Halicarnassus: A city in Caria (...). It was called Isthmus and Zephyrion, according to Philo, and Zephyria.
- 24** Alope: A city in Thessaly, after Alope, daughter of Cercyon, according to Pherecydes, or of Actor, according to Philo. It is situated between Larissa Cremaste and Echinus. There is also a second Alope in Attica, a third in the Pontic region, from which Penthesilea comes, a fourth around Euboea, a sixth near Delphi, a seventh in the Locrian region.
- 25** Antheia: A city in the Peloponnese near Argus, according to Philo. The ethnikon is Antheus. There is also a city called Antheia in the Pontic region close to Thrace, which is mentioned among many others by Phileas. There is also a village in Libya. There is also one in Italy in the vicinity of Rome, which was renamed Antium, as shall be said.
- 26** Antissa: A city in Lesbos next to Sigrion, from which came Terpander of Antissa, the most famous cithara player. After Antissa, the daughter of Macar, in Philo's books. It is also one island of the Cyclades. And a third in India, which is recorded by Philo and by Demodamas of Miletus.
- 27** Argura: A city in Thessaly, which was earlier called Argissa. There is also a place on Euboea called Argura, where Hermes is believed to have killed Argus. The ethnikon should be Arguraeus, as is also told by Philo. (...)
- 28** Artemita: An island in the Tyrrhenian Sea near the island of Aethaleia, according to Philo.
- 29** Aspis: A city in Libya, according to Philo. And according to Strabo (...).
- 30** Babylon: A Persian city, metropolis, called Seleucia. It is the oldest foundation of Babylon, of a very wise man, son of Belus, not as Herodotus says, of Semiramis, since it is older than her by two thousand years, according to Philo. There is also a city in Egypt.
- 31** Bosphorus: A city in the Pontic region on the Cimmerian gulf, as Philo says, and a strait with the same name, called after Io, <daughter of Inachus>, <as> Aeschylus <writes> in his *Prometheus Desmotes* (...).
- 32** Buthoe: A city in Illyria, according to Philo, because Cadmus driving on a chariot drawn by a pair of oxen (= bus) quickly (= thoos) accomplished his journey to Illyria. Others say that Cadmus named it after the Egyptian Buto, and it came to be called Buthoe by a corruption of the name.

- 33** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Βούρα: πόλις Ἀχαΐας, Θηλυκῶς, ἀπὸ Βούρας θυγατρὸς Ἰωνος τοῦ Ξεύθου καὶ Ἐλίκης, τὸ ἑθνικὸν Βουραῖος· Λυκόφρων (Al. 591)
- 75 “Δύμη τε Βουραίοισιν ἡγεμὼν στόλου”. ἐκ ταύτης ἦν Πυθέας (2109 OVERBECK) ζωγράφος, οὗ ἐστιν ἔργον ὃ ἐν Περγάμῳ ἐλέφας, ἀπὸ τοιχογραφίας ὧν, ώς Φίλων. (...)
- 34** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Γέρασα: πόλις τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας τῆς δεκαπόλεως. ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἀρίστων ρήτωρ ἀστεῖος ἐστιν, ώς Φίλων, καὶ Κήρυκος σοφιστὴς καὶ
- 80 Πλάτων νομικὸς ρήτωρ, πᾶσαν παίδευσιν ώς μίαν ἀπόστοματίζων καὶ ἐν συνηγορίαις καὶ παρεδρευταῖς καὶ θρόνοις τὴν ὄρθοτητα τῶν νόμων ἐπιτηδεύων.
- 35** STEPH. BYZ. (plen.) s.v. Δυρράχιον· πόλις Ιλλυρική, Ἐπίδαμνος κληθεῖσα ἀπὸ Ἐπιδάμνου. τούτου θυγάτηρ Μέλισσα, ἥς καὶ Ποσειδώνος Δυρράχιος· ἀφ’ ἦς ἐστιν ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ τόπος Μελισσώνιος, ἔνθα Ποσειδῶν αὐτῇ συνήλθεν, <ώς Φίλων. Στράβων δ’ ἐν ζ’ (7,5,8 p. 316 C.) φησί> “μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ριζονικὸν <κόλπον> Λίσσος ἐστὶ πόλις καὶ Ἀκρόλισσος καὶ Ἐπίδαμνος, Κερκυραίων κτίσμα, ἡ νῦν Δυρράχιον ὄμωνύμως τῇ χερρονήσῳ [πρότερον] λεγομένῃ, ἐφ’ ἦς ἴδρυται, [ώς Φίλων].”
- 90 **36** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. “Ἐγεστα· πόλις Σικελίας, ἔνθα θερμὰ ὕδατα, ώς Φίλων ἀπὸ Ἐγέστου τοῦ Τρωός.
- 37** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἐλαία: (...) ἐστι καὶ πόλις Φοινίκης Ἐλαία μεταξὺ Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος, ώς Φίλων.
- 38** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἰόπη· πόλις Φοινίκης πλησίον Ἰαμνίας, ώς Φίλων· ώς δὲ
- 95 Διονύσιος (Per. 910) Παλαιστίνης· Φοινίκη γάρ καὶ ἡ Παλαιστίνη. ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰόπης τῆς Αἰόλου θυγατρός, τῆς γυναικὸς Κηφέως τοῦ κτίσαντος καὶ βασιλεύσαντος — τοῦ καταστερισθέντος, οὗ ἐστι γυνὴ Κασσιέπεια· οἱ Ἑλληνες κακῶς φασιν —, ἀφ’ οὗ Κηφῆνες οἱ Αἰθίοπες. ἐστι καὶ Θεσσαλίας ἄλλη.
- 100 **39** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Κύνος: ἐπίνειον Ὁποῦντος, ώς Φίλων καὶ Παυσανίας (10,1,2). Ἐκαταῖος (1 F 131) δὲ πόλιν αὐτήν φησιν.
- 40** STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Λάμπη· πόλις Κρήτης (...) καὶ γ’ τῆς Ἀργολίδος, ώς Φίλων.

⁷³⁻⁷⁴ Θηλυκῶς ... Ελίκης add. VR ⁷⁵ Δύμη Steph. Byz. : Δύμης Lycophro ⁷⁸ δεκαπόλεως Salmasius (cf. Plin. Nat. hist. 5,74; 77; OGIS 631,4) : τεσσαρεσκαιδεκαπόλεως codd.

⁸¹ παρεδρευταῖς codd. : παρεδρίας Berkel ⁸⁴ Ποσειδώνος S : τὸ Ποσ- PVR : τοῦ Ποσ- Xylander ⁸⁶ ώς Φίλων in hunc locum transpos. Meineke, post 89 ἴδρυται habent S, Const. Porph. de them. 2,9 || Στράβων δ’ ἐν τῷ (ἐν ζ’ Jacoby recte) φησί suppl. Meineke ⁸⁷ κόλπον Strab. : om. Steph. Byz. ⁸⁸ πρότερον S : om. Strab. ⁹⁷⁻⁹⁸ τοῦ ... κακῶς φασιν del. Schubart

33 Bura: A city in Achaea, feminine, after Bura, the daughter of Ion, son of Xuthus, and of Helice. The ethnikon is Buraeus. Lycophron: “and Dyme, army leader of the Buraeans”. The painter Pytheas came from it, whose work is the elephant in Pergamon, a wall-painter, according to Philo (...).

34 Gerasa: A city of the Decapolis in Coele Syria. From it comes Ariston, a witty orator, according to Philo, and Cercyus, a sophist, and Plato, an orator learned in the law, who constantly repeated that all learning formed an indisociable whole and insisted on the correctness of the laws whether he was advocate, paredros or judge.

35 Dyrrhachium: an Illyrian city, called Epidamnus after Epidamnus, whose daughter is Melissa. Her son, and Poseidon’s, is Dyrrhachius. A place in Epidamnus, where Poseidon joined her, is called after her Melissonian place, <according to Philo. Strabo says in his seventh book>: “After the Rhizonic <gulf> there is the city of Lissus and Acrolissus and Epidamnus, a foundation of the Cercyreans, which is now called Dyrrhachium like the peninsula on which it is built”, [as Philo].

36 Egesta: A city of Sicily, where there are hot springs, according to Philo, called after the Trojan Egestes.

37 Elaea: (...) There is also a Phoenician city Elaea between Tyre and Sidon, according to Philo.

38 Iope: A city in Phoenicia near Iamnia, according to Philo, in Palestine according to Dionysius, since Palestine is Phoenicia. It was named after Iope, the daughter of Aeolus, the wife of Cepheus, the founder and ruler of the city—the one who became a star, whose wife is Cassiopea, the pagan sources are wrong—, after whom the Etheopians are called Cephenes. There is also another Iope in Thessaly.

39 Cynus: An Opuntian sea-port, according to Philo and Pausanias. Hecataeus calls it a city.

40 Lampe: A city on Crete (...) and a third in the Argolis, according to Philo.

- 41 STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Λαοδίκεια· πόλις τῆς Συρίας, ἡ πρότερον Λευκὴ ἀκτὴ λεγομένη καὶ πρὸ τούτου Ράμιθα· κεραυνωθεῖς γάρ τις ἐν αὐτῇ ποιμὴν ἔλεγε “ῥάμανθας” τουτέστιν ἀφ’ ὑψους ὁ θεός· ράμαν γὰρ τὸ ὑψος, ἄθας δὲ ὁ θεός. οὗτος Φίλων.
- 42 STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Μαρσύα· πόλις Φοινίκης, ως Ἀλέξανδρος (273 F 128) καὶ Φίλων, ἀπὸ Μαρσοῦ.
- 43 STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Μεγάλη πόλις· (...) ἀφ’ ἡς Κερκιδᾶς ἄριστος νομοθέτης καὶ μελιάμβων ποιητής, καὶ Αἰνησίας περιπατητικὸς ὁ Θεοφράστου μαθητής, καὶ Ἀκεστόδωρος περὶ πόλεων συγγεγραφώς, καὶ Πολύβιος τεσσαράκοντα βιβλία συγγράψας. (...) ἔστι καὶ Ἰβηρίας Μεγάλη πόλις, ως Φίλων.
- 44 STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Μεθύδριον· πόλις Ἀρκαδίας· (...) καὶ ἐτέρα πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ως Φίλων.
- 45 STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Μελίταια· πόλις Θεσσαλίας· Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀσία· Θεόπομπος (115 F 373) δὲ Μελίτειαν αὐτήν φησιν. ὁ πολίτης Μελίταιεύς. “Ἐφορος λ’ (70 F 95)· “οἱ δὲ τύραννοι τῶν Φερῶν καὶ Μελίταιεῖς φίλοι πρότερον ὑπάρχοντες”.
- Μελίτη· νῆσος μεταξὺ Ἡπείρου καὶ Ἰταλίας, ὅθεν τὰ κυνίδια Μελίταια φασιν. ὁ οἰκήτωρ Μελίταιος. ἔστι καὶ πόλις ἄποικος Καρχηδονίων Μελίτεια· Φίλων οὕτω γράφει, τὰ αὐτὰ πράγματα τῇ εἰρημένῃ προσάπτων. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Μελίτειεύς καὶ δῆμος Οἰνηίδος φυλῆς. ὁ δημότης Μελίτειεύς.
- 46 STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Μυοῦς· πόλις Ιωνίας, ως Φίλων καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν α’ Χρονικῷ (244 F 1).
- 47 STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ὁλβία· πόλις Λιγυστική (...) β’ πόλις ἐν Πόντῳ· γ’ Βιθυνίας ἀπὸ Ὁλβίας νύμφης· δ’ Παμφυλίας, ως Φίλων – οὐκ ἔστι δὲ Παμφυλίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν Σολύμων γῆς καὶ οὐδὲ Ὁλβία, ἀλλὰ Ὁλβα καλεῖται, καὶ οἱ πολῖται Ὁλβαιοι καὶ Ὁλβιος καὶ Ὁλβία – ε’ Ἰβηρίας· σ’ Σαρδοῦς· ζ’ Ἰλλυρίδος· η’ Ἐλλησπόντου· θ’ Κιλικίας.
- 48 STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Τελμισσός· πόλις Καρίας· ως δὲ Φίλων καὶ Στράβων (14,3,4) Λυκίας. ἔστι γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων ὄριον μετὰ Δαιδαλα.

¹⁰⁴ γὰρ τούτις R : γάρ πού τις (?) Meineke; fort. nomen corruptum latere cens. Jacoby || ἐν αὐτῇ add. R || ποιμὴν om. R ¹⁰⁵ ῥάμανθας codd.: ῥάμανάθας Salmasius || παρ’ ἐγχωρίοις post γὰρ add. Eusth. || ἄθας codd.: ἄθαν Eusth.: ἄνθας Bochart ¹⁰⁸ μαρσοῦ VR : μάρσου P : Μαρσοῦ Berkel ¹¹⁵ Μελίταια Meineke : Μελίταια codd. || Ἀσίᾳ codd.: Εύρωπῃ (?) Meineke ¹¹⁹ Ἰταλίας. < “Ἐστι καὶ ἄλλη πλησίον Σικελίας> δόθεν Holstenius ¹²⁰⁻¹²¹ Μελίτεια ... ἐθνικὸν Μελίτειεύς post 118 ὑπάρχοντες transpos. duce Berkel edd.: post Καρχηδονίων codd. ¹³⁰ Τελμισσός codd.: Τελμησσός edd., sed cf. Ruge (1934: 410); Aristoph. F 548 K. A. || καὶ Xylander : ἡ codd. ¹³¹ ἀμφοτέρων Xylander : ἀμφότερα codd.

- 41 Laodicea: A city in Syria, which formerly was called Leuce Acte and before this Ramitha, since a shepherd, when struck in it by a thunder-bolt, said “Ramanthas”, which means “god from heaven”, since “raman” is “heaven”, and “athas” is “god”. Thus Philo.
- 42 Marsya: A city in Phoenicia, according to Alexander and Philo, after Marsus.
- 43 Megalopolis: (...) from which comes Cercidas, the best lawgiver and poet of lyric iambics, and the Peripatetic Aenesias, pupil of Theophrastus, and Acestodorus, who wrote about cities, and Polybius, who composed forty books. (...) There is also a Megalopolis in Spain, according to Philo.
- 44 Methydrium: A city in Arcadia. (...) There is also another city in Thessaly, according to Philo.
- 45 Melitaea: A city in Thessaly. Alexander in the *Asia*. Theopompus calls it Meliteia. The citizen is called Melitaean. Ephorus in book thirty: “The Pherean tyrants and the Melitaeans who formerly were friends”. Melite: An island between Epirus and Italy, after which the puppies are called Melitaea. The inhabitant is called Melitaeus. There is also a colony of Carthage called Meliteia. Thus Philo writes, who attributes to it the same things as are said about the aforementioned place. The ethnikon is Meliteus. And a deme of the phyle Oeneis. The member of the deme is called Meliteus.
- 46 Myus: A city in Ionia, according to Philo and Apollodorus in his first book of the *Chronicle*.
- 47 Olbia: A Ligurian city (...); the second is a city in the Pontic region; the third a city in Bithynia after the nymph Olbia; the fourth a city in Pamphylia, according to Philo—but this is not a city in Pamphylia, but in the region of the Solymi, and its name is not Olbia, but Olba, and the inhabitants are called Olbaioi and Olbius and Olbia —; the fifth a city in Spain; the sixth a city in Sardinia; the seventh a city in Illyria; the eighth a city in the Hellespont; the ninth a city in Cilicia.
- 48 Telmissus: A city in Caria, but according to Philo and Strabon in Lycia, since the borderline between the two is beyond Daedala.

49 ΣΤΕΡΗ. ΒΥΖ. s.v. Τίος: πόλις Παφλαγονίας τοῦ Πόντου· ἀπὸ Τίου ιερέως τὸ γένος Μιλησίου, ὡς Φίλων. Δημοσθένης δὲ ἐν Βιθυνιακοῖς (699 F 9) φησι κτίστην τῆς πόλεως γενέσθαι Πάταρον ἐλόντα Παφλαγονίαν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τιμᾶν τὸν Δία Τίον προσαγορεῦσαι.

50 ΣΤΕΡΗ. ΒΥΖ. s.v. Φαραί· πόλις Μεσσήνης, ὅθεν ἦσαν οἱ Ἀφαρητιάδαι (...) εἰσὶ καὶ Φαραὶ Βοιωτίας (...) ἔστι δ' ἄλλη Κρήτης, ἄποικος τῆς ἐν Μεσσήνῃ, ὡς Φίλων.

51 SUDA φ 364 s.v. Φιλιστίων· Προυσαεὺς ἥ, ὡς Φίλων, Σαρδιανός, κωμικός.
140 (...)

ΠΕΡΙ ΚΤΗΣΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΛΟΓΗΣ ΒΙΒΛΙΩΝ Α-Ϊ

Θ ΙΑΤΡΟΙ

52 (a) ΣΤΕΡΗ. ΒΥΖ. s.v. Κύρτος· πόλις Αἴγυπτου ἐν τῷ μεσογείῳ. ἐκ ταύτης Διονύσιος ἦν διάσημος ιατρός, ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος Κυρτὸς ὁνομαζόμενος, οὐδὲ μέμνηται Ἐρέννιος Φίλων ἐν τῷ Περὶ ιατρῶν. ὁ τόνος τοῦ μὲν ἑθνικοῦ ὀξύς, ὁμόφωνος τῷ πάθει, τοῦ δὲ κυρίου τῆς πόλεως βαρύς, ὡς τὸ 145 κόντος (?) καὶ πόντος.

(b) SCHOL. (R²) ORIBAS. 44,14,1 p. 132 RAEDER III: Διονύσιον τὸν κυρτόν] ὁ Φίλων ἐν τῷ θ' Περὶ βιβλιοθήκης κτήσεως καὶ Ἐρμιππος (1061 T 4) ἐν τῷ ε' Περὶ τῶν διὰ παιδείαν ὑμηθέντων [ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν] ιατρῶν καὶ ὁ Σωρανὸς ἐν ταῖς Τῶν ιατρῶν διαδοχαῖς (1062 F 1) φασιν, ὅτι καὶ ὀξυτόνως εἰρηται κυρτός, ὡς φοξός, διὰ σωματικὴν ἀσθένειαν, βαρυτόνως δέ, ὡς ἵππος, πύργος, ἐπεὶ ἐκ μεσογαίου πόλεως τῆς Αἴγυπτου λεγομένης Κύρτου ὑπῆρχεν, ἥ, ὡς φασί τινες, διὰ τὸ ἀλίσκεσθαι τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας <ὑπ> αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλιευτικῶν κύρτων.

49 Tius: A city in Paphlagonia in the Pontic region; after the Milesian priest Tius, according to Philo. Demosthenes says in his *Bithyniaka* that the city was founded by Patarus on his conquest of Paphlagonia, and that he named it Tius in honour of Zeus.

50 Pharae: A city in Messene, where the Apharetiadae come from (...); there is also a Pharae in Boeotia (...); there is another one in Crete, a colony of the city in Messene, according to Philo.

51 Philistion, of Prusa, or, according to Philo, of Sardes, a comic poet. (...)

ON THE ACQUISITION AND CHOICE OF BOOKS 1-12

9. ON PHYSICIANS

F

52 (a) Kýrtos: An inland city in Egypt. From it came Dionysius, a famous physician, who was called *kyriós* after his native city, not because of his body (*i.e.* because he was *kyrtós*, hunchbacked). Herennius Philo mentions him in his book *On Physicians*. The ethnikon is oxytone, like the bodily weakness, whereas the proper name of the city is barytone like *kóntos* and *póntos*.

(b) Dionysius the *kyrtós*] Philo in the ninth book of his *On the Acquisition of a Library*, Hermippus in the fifth book of his *On Famous Physicians Honoured on Account of Their Learning*, and Soranus in his *Succession of Physicians* say that *kyrtos* is pronounced both oxytone (*sc. kyrtós*, hunchbacked) like *foxós* (*i.e.* sugarloaf-headed), because it signifies a bodily weakness, and barytone like *hippos*, *pýrgos*, because it is derived from an Egyptian inland town called *Kýrtos*, or as some say, because those speaking against him (*sc. Dionysius*) were caught by him like fish in fishing nets (*i.e. kýrtoi*).

¹³⁶ Ἀφαρητιάδαι *Xylander*: ἀφαρητιάδαι *P* (?): φαρητιάδαι *V*: φαριτιάδαι *R* ¹⁴³ ιατρῶν *R*: ιατρικῶν *Ald.* ¹⁴⁴ ἑθνικοῦ *Salmasius*: ἔνικοῦ *codd.* ¹⁴⁵ κόντος *codd.*, *sed* κοντός *scribendum esset*. κόντος? *Meineke* ¹⁴⁷ Ἐρμιππος *edd.* : ἔρμηππος *cod.* ¹⁴⁸ παιδείαν *edd.* : παιδείαν *cod.* || ὑμηθέντων *Cronert in exemplari suo* : σεμνηθ- *cod.* || ἐνδόξων *edd.* : εὐδόξων *cod.* || ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν *delevi* ¹⁵² ὑπ' *suppl. Daremberg* ¹⁵³ κύρτων *edd.* : κυρτῶν *cod.*

53 STEPH. BYZ. (plen.) s.v. Δυρράχιον: p. 244,13 (...) ὅμως δὲ νῦν Δυρραχηνοὶ λέγονται· οὕτω γάρ καὶ Βάλαγρος ἐν Μακεδονικοῖς (773 F 2) φησι (...) καὶ Ἐρέννιος Φίλων ἐν τοῖς Ιατροῖς Δυρραχηνὸν ἀναγράφει Φιλωνίδην οὕτως· Ἀσκληπιάδης ἀκουστάς ἔσχε Τίτον Αὐφίδιον Σικελὸν καὶ Φιλωνίδην Δυρραχηνὸν καὶ Νίκωνα Ἀκραγαντῖνον. καὶ πάλιν Φιλωνίδης δὲ ὁ Δυρραχηνὸς ἥκουσε μὲν Ἀσκληπιάδου, ιατρεύσας δὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἐνδόξως συνετάξατο βιβλία με¹⁵⁶.

¹⁵⁶ ιατροῖς SPVR : ιατρικοῖς edd.

53 Dyrrachium: (...) Nevertheless, they are now called *Dyrrhachenians* (*sc.* instead of *Dyrrhachians*), as Balager says in his *Makedonika*: (...), and Herennius Philo in his *Physicians* refers to Philonides of Dyrrachium in the following way: Disciples of Asclepiades were Titus Aufidius of Sicily, the *Dyrrhachenian* Philonides, and Nicon of Acragas, and again: Philonides, the *Dyrrhachenian* was a pupil of Asclepiades; he was a famous physician in his native city and author of forty-five books.

1060 (= 790). Philo of Byblus
(1st–2nd cent. A.D.)

Introduction

Philo of Byblus¹ can be dated fairly securely to the time of the 1st–2nd century A.D. He was a client or perhaps even a freedman of one of Pliny's friends, the *vir doctissimus* Herennius Severus², whose name he adopted and to whom he seems to have dedicated a book. Ph. is a typical γραμματικός of Imperial times. His antiquarian interests expressed themselves in several scholarly collections, in which he amassed a lot of learned and curious material. Among his works we find for instance a *History of Marvels*, a Χρηστομαθία³, and a dictionary of synonyms, of which a substantial bulk survives in several epitomes⁴. However, the information Ph. offers is often quite dubious, and in many cases seems to be more a product of Ph.s imagination than of his learning. This is most apparent in Ph.s *Phoenician History*⁵, preserved in substantial parts by Eusebius, which is altogether a strange mixture of local patriotism and pseudo-knowledge. As to the history of biography and especially geography, Ph.s work *On Cities and their Famous Citizens* in thirty books is very important. The work was epitomized in Theodosian times by Aelius Serenus (1082) and also exploited by Orus in his *Ethnika*, who in turn transmitted its material to Stephanus of Byzantium⁶. Thus, Ph. has to be regarded as one of Stephanus' main sources⁷. The weight of his influence can still be felt

¹ General introductions—more or less dependent on GUDEMAN (1912: 649-661)—are given by BAUMGARTEN (1981: 31-35); PALMIERI (1988: 15-48); FEIN (1994: 200-201).

² PLIN. *Ep.* 4,28 (dating to A.D. 104-105).

³ Cf. *FGrHist* 790 F 12-14.

⁴ Cf. PALMIERI (1988); and NICKAU's edition of Ammonius (1966). See also on 1053. PTOLEMY.

⁵ Cf. in general BAUMGARTEN (1981); EDWARDS (1991: 213-220).

⁶ F 21 might suggest that Stephanus also used another source from which he derived his information on Ph., cf. GUDEMAN (1912: 657). The question is whether this was an unabridged version of Ph.s work or the epitome of Aelius Serenus (1082).

⁷ Cf. DAUB (1880: 441-457), who lists about ninety entries in Stephanus (cf. the following note), which he thinks to be derived from Ph. The guiding principle for his selection is that the articles all contain information on famous citizens. In some we also find a reference to the “pinacographers”, cf. STEPH. s.v. “Αβδηρα (...) πλεῖστοι δ' Ἀβδηρῖται ὑπὸ τῶν πινακογράφων ἀναγράφονται; s.v. Άΐνος (...) οὕτω γὰρ ἀναγράφεται ἐν τοῖς πίναξι”. It is of course impossible to attribute these entries to Ph. with absolute certainty, though it seems likely that Ph. might at least have contributed to them.

in the deplorable epitome we have of Stephanus. There Ph. is referred to about thirty times, and one may safely assume that even more entries are indebted to Ph. than is indicated⁸. Hesychius, in contrast, used Ph.s work only occasionally. Hence we find but one quotation in the Suda (F 51), although comparison with Stephanus shows that more material goes back to Ph.⁹ Perhaps the reason for this was that Ph.s work offered less suitable material for biography

⁸ In addition to the named fragments one may compare Stephanus' entries on the following cities (the list is based on DAUB [1880: 441-454]): Abdera (Democritus; Protagoras; Nicaenetus); Abila in Phoenicia (Diogenes of Babylon?); Aethale (Glaucus); Aenus; Alabanda; Alexandria Troas (the epic poet Hegemon); Amasea (Strabo); Amorgos (Simonides); Anazarba in Cilicia (the physician Dioscorides); Anaea (Menelaus the Peripatetic); Anthedon (the painter Leonidas); Anticyra (Marcellus the physician); Antiochia in Mesopotamia (Apollophanes the Stoic); Apollonia on Crete (Diogenes the Presocratic [63 DK]); Ascalon (Antiochus the Academic; the Stoics Sosus, Antibius, Eubius; the grammarians Ptolemy [1053] and Dorotheus; the historians Apollonius and Artemidorus [*FGrHist* 698]); Ascra (Hesiod); Achnae (Cleodamas, author of treatises on horses); Balaneae (Epicrates, author of an encomium on the city); Bate (Habron [*FGrHist* 359]); Beroea (Cassianus the Rhetor); Bene (Rhianus [*FGrHist* 265]); Bithynion (Epaphroditus); Bisanthe (Phaedimus the Epigrammatist); Bormiscus (Euripides); Gadara (Menippus); Gades (Moderatus); Gargettus (Epicurus); Gergis (Sybil); Dyspontium (Antimachus the Olympic champion); Epiphaneia in Syria (Euphrates the Stoic); Eresus (Theophrastus); Erythrae (Naucrates the Aristarchean?); Erchia (Isocrates); Zeugma in Syria (the grammarian Proteas); Heracleupolis (Theophanes the *Physicus*); Thesitis in Libya (Cornutus); Thisbe (the flute-player Ismenias); Thyateira (the grammarian Nicander); Iasos (Choerilus); Hierapolis (Nicanor the Grammarian; the Stoics Publius and Sarapion); Utica (Cassius Dionysius); Callatis (Ister, author of a work on tragedy); Kamiros (the poet Pisander); Capri (Blaesus, poet of Menippean satires); Carthage (Clitomachus the Academic); Cassandra (Posidippus); Cotyaeia (the grammarian Alexander); Curium (Aristocles); Crastus (Epicharmus, Lais); Cydathenaeum (the comic poet Nicocharies); Cythnus (the painter Cydias); Cyrene (Ephorus; Herodotus); Cynuscephalae (Pindar); Cyrene (Eratosthenes [*FGrHist* 241]); Lete in Macedonia (Nearchus? [*FGrHist* 133]); Mantua (Vergil); Megara (Theognis); Medma (Philip, author of a treatise on winds); Metapont (the flute-player Philo); Methymna (Echecratidas the Peripatetic; Myrsilus [*FGrHist* 477]; the poet Arion); Micyberna (Hegesippus [*FGrHist* 391]); Philonides); Melos (the poet Diagoras); Mieza (Nicanor); Miletus (Thales, Phocylides, Timotheus); Mopsuest (Heracles the grammarian); Myndus (the grammarians Apollonius and Zenon); Myrlea (Asclepiades [cf. 1100]); Nicaea (the paradoxographer Isigonus; Asclepiades [cf. 1100]); Parthenius; the grammarians Apollonides and Epitherxes); Nicomedia (Arrian); Odessus (the historiographer Heracles; Demetrios [*FGrHist* 808]); Oechalia (Linus); Olophyxus (Herodotus, writer on nymphs and gods); Stagira (Aristotle); Tarentum (Pythagoras; Aristoxenus; Rinthon; the physician Iccus); Tarrha (the epigrammatist Lucilius); Teios (Protagoras of Abdera; the jambographer Scythinus); Tenos (Erinna); Tiberias (Iustus [*FGrHist* 734]); Tragia (Theogeiton the Peripatetic); Tragilus (Asclepiades [*FGrHist* 12]); Troas (Hegesianax [*FGrHist* 45]); Hydrea (the comic poet Euages); Phalanna (Phaniades the Peripatetic); Phaselis (Theodectes); Philippi (Adrastus the Peripatetic); Philius (Timon).

⁹ Cf. ROHDE I (1901: 365-379).

than that of his pupil Hermippus (1061), focusing more on the cities than on the individual lives, and was therefore only used by Hesychius for additional information. In its content Ph.s work *On Cities* is to some extent comparable to Strabo's *Geographika*¹⁰. The number of its books suggests that it was even more comprehensive. The collection of the material must have been immense. Apart from the more important cities, for which Ph. is never quoted explicitly, his work contained a lot of information on smaller places, which are often difficult to identify¹¹. Although Ph. is cited mainly in relation to cities in the eastern part of the Roman Empire, he seems to have dealt with the entire oecumene¹². He described the location of the cities, explained their names, often in connection with some foundation myth, and spoke about their history. Finally, a section on their famous citizens was added. Since the title of the work includes a reference to the ἔνδοξοι, information on famous persons was probably more prominent in Ph.s work than it is in Strabo. It seems that he gave a list of the celebrities of each city. Although it is not clear how far he went into the biographical details, the entries on Bura (F 33) and Gerasa (F 34) show that the comments made on individuals were often restricted to a single short remark. Unfortunately the nature of our evidence does not admit of any certain conclusion concerning the overall arrangement of the material. We are never given a book number, and in most cases not even the title. It is therefore difficult to decide whether the work resembled Strabo's *Geographika* or was arranged, at least partly, in alphabetical order¹³. The latter solution might be suggested by the fact that Ph.s book on physicians seems to have been arranged in this manner too, and moreover by Stephanus' entries on Athens (F 21) and Antissa (F 26). Their wording (ἀναγράφει) seems to imply that it was some kind of dictionary, although one should not exclude the possibility that this arrangement was only due to the various epitomes. Another extensive work of Ph. relating to biography is his *On the Acquisition and Choice of Books* in twelve volumes. Judging by its name, it must have been a guide to literature, comparable in kind to the work of Telephus (1071). As the subtitle of its ninth book (F 52b) ιατροί shows, it was arranged accord-

¹⁰ It is an intriguing question whether Ph. used Strabo's work.

¹¹ Cf. F 17 (Arsinoe in Coele Syria); F 20 (Azen, near Marseille?); F 22 (Aigeira in Cilicia); F 25 (Antheia near Argos); F 26 (Antissa in India); F 40 (Lampe in the Argolis); F 43 (Megalopolis in Spain); F 44 (Methydron in Thessaly).

¹² Cf. e.g. F 19 (Agathe); F 29 (Clupea); F 36 (Segesta).

¹³ Cf. GUDEMAN (1912: 655).

ing to literary genres. The individual groups of authors were probably given in alphabetical order¹⁴. Perhaps it was used as a source by Ph.s pupil Hermippus of Berytus (1061). A third work of Ph. with biographical character, of which nothing remains apart from its title, is his treatise *On the Rule of Hadrian*. This work was either a *Fürstenspiegel* or a laudatory monograph. It is possible that Ph. was encouraged to write it by his patron Herennius Severus.

Commentary on the Testimony and the Fragments

T

(1) The life span attributed to Ph. by Hesychius/Suda is of an unnatural length. According to him Ph. was 77 years old when Herennius Severus was consul. The date of Herennius' consulship is put at the 220th Olympiad (A.D. 101-104). Hence Ph. would have been already about 90 years old at the beginning of Hadrian's reign in A.D. 117, on whom he is said to have written a treatise. This, however, seems hard to believe. Usually the problem is solved in the following way: The word γένετο, which in most cases denotes the *floruit*¹⁵, is taken to refer to Ph.s birth¹⁶. This is variously placed shortly before¹⁷ or after¹⁸ Nero's reign. As a next step, the 78 years are added and the date of the consulship of Herennius Severus is changed accordingly¹⁹. Finally, Ph.s death is dated to the time of the Emperor Antoninus Pius²⁰. Although this hypothesis may be correct as regards Ph.s age and time of life, it probably can not claim the

¹⁴ Contra GUDEMAN (1912: 653).

¹⁵ On the usage of γένετο in the Suda cf. ROHDE I (1901: 114-184).

¹⁶ Cf. e.g. GUDEMAN (1912: 650); FEIN (1994: 200).

¹⁷ GUDEMAN (1912: 650), followed by PALMIERI (1988: 21) and FEIN (1994: 200).

¹⁸ Cf. BAUMGARTEN (1981: 34).

¹⁹ It is commonly attributed to the years 128-130, because some bricks, stamped with the name Severus, date to this period. However, the identification of this Severus as Herennius Severus is far from certain, because Severus is quite a common cognomen at this time, cf. PIR² IV H 130. The date 128 has become nearly canonical. Thus, PALMIERI (1988: 17) adduces it against the calculation of the Suda, disregarding the fact that it is based on it: "I gravi problemi di cronologia posti dalle notizie di Suda derivano soprattutto, ma non solo, dal fatto che un console Erennio Severo non ci è attestato per il periodo indicato dal lessicographo, e cioè nell'ol. 220 = 101-104 d.C., ma un Erennio Severo fu [...] consul suffectus, insieme con lo storico Arriano (ca. 95-175 d.C.) sotto Adriano nel 128 d.C." The argument is of course circular.

²⁰ BAUMGARTEN (1981: 34); PALMIERI (1988: 21).

Suda for its support. To start with, it is perhaps best to separate the question of when Ph. lived from the question of how we are to understand the entry of the Suda. If we take γέγονε in its usual sense and refer it to the *floruit*, the calculation, though based on a mistake, is plain and consistent in itself. It starts from the assumption that Ph. was 78 years old in A.D. 101-104. Accordingly, Ph. must have had his *floruit* about forty years before that date, i.e. ca. at Nero's reign. The vague expression ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων τῶν ἐγγὺς Νέρωνος, which has no parallel in the Suda, thus appears to be due to the lexicographer himself, who may have felt the difficulty of combining this date with the information that Ph. wrote a treatise on Hadrian. At any rate, he thought it necessary to add a second indication of time ἐφ' οὐ καὶ ἦν Φίλων at the end of the article. Hence the indication ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων τῶν ἐγγὺς Νέρωνος is not a date which can stand on its own, and in consequence it should not be used for our own calculation. It is, however, clear that something must have gone wrong in the article of the Suda. Although a certain solution is of course impossible, I would suggest that the numbers given are correct and that the mistake lies in a misunderstanding of Ph.'s words. It appears quite odd that Ph. should have connected his own age with the consulship of his patron Herennius Severus, whereas the simple statement that Herennius Severus was 77 years old when he became consul in A.D. 101-104 seems much more natural. In fact, the wording of the Suda, which is ambiguous, might even suggest this reading. In consequence, Ph.'s age at the time of Herennius' consulship remains uncertain. All evidence fits, if we assume that he was born under the Flavians, perhaps even Domitian, and died under Antoninus Pius.

F

The nature of our evidence, which consists mainly of entries in the dictionary of Stephanus of Byzantium²¹, poses some particular problems. It is often difficult to tell how much of each entry goes back to Ph.²² Although he is often referred to just for a particular and unusual

²¹ A new critical edition of Stephanus is much in need. Jacoby offers more information in his apparatus criticus than Meineke, but it is uncertain whether this is really based on new results. Although Jacoby had access to new collations at some time, one gets the impression that he simply turned Meineke's negative apparatus into a positive one. In order not to divulge dubious knowledge I have therefore relied mainly on Meineke's apparatus, restricting it to the most important information.

²² As a general rule, I have kept, with a few exceptions, to the fragments as delimited by Jacoby.

detail, he probably offered far more information for which he is not directly cited by Stephanus. This latter information would have included those facts which were common to many authors as well. Thus, Ph.'s work must have been far less extravagant than it appears. A second difficulty arises from the fact that Stephanus also knew Ph.'s *Phoenician History*. Several entries on cities in the East²³ could derive from this work as well as from Ph.'s *On Cities*. Nevertheless, it seemed expedient to include the uncertain cases too, since they serve to convey a good impression of the sort of knowledge which Ph. amassed in his works.

(16) Although Ph. is only quoted for a variant of the ethnikon, the entire foundation myth of Andania together with the etymological explanation may be taken from him²⁴.

(17) The city Arsinoe in Coele Syria has not been identified so far. Ph.'s explanation of its name is pure nonsense. Moreover, it shows a remarkable lack of knowledge about Hellenistic history. The city was of course named after Arsinoe II, the sister and wife of Ptolemy II²⁵. The entry of the Etymologicum is probably taken from Orus²⁶.

(18) The entry shows that Ph. offered the usual aetiology of the Platæan spring Bukerais with a slight variant, changing the name Polybus to Polyidus²⁷. The entry seems to be derived from Orus²⁸.

(19) The second Agathe is probably the same as the first one, Αἰγυστίων being simply a variant to Αἰγύων.

(21) Stephanus' statement that Orus listed five, Ph. six cities that were called Athens is quite intriguing. It seems to suggest that, in some cases, Stephanus drew information on Ph. from a source other than Orus²⁹. It is hard to tell whether this was the complete version of Ph.'s work or perhaps its epitome by Aelius Serenus (1082). Since Orus himself used this epitome (F 17-18), the question becomes which of the two reduced the number of cities called Athens from six to five. If it was Serenus, it seems likely that Stephanus still had access

²³ F 30-32; 37; 38; 41-42; as indicated by Jacoby.

²⁴ For another explanation of the name, which sounds like a polemic, see PAUS. 4,33,6: καὶ ὅτι μὲν τῇ πόλει τὸ σόμα ἀπὸ γυναικὸς γέγονεν Ἀνδανίας οὐολογεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν ἔξηγητῶν; on Aristomenes JACOBY on *FGrHist* 265 F 42-46.

²⁵ Cf. HÖLBL (1994: 56; 60; 97-98) on the various other cities named after Arsinoe.

²⁶ REITZENSTEIN (1897: 326).

²⁷ Cf. PFEIFFER on CALLIM. F 42.

²⁸ Cf. REITZENSTEIN (1897: 329).

²⁹ The latter part of Stephanus' entry on Athens is clearly taken from Orus, cf. ALPERS (1981) B 4 p. 196.

to the original version of Ph.s work³⁰, if it was Orus himself, Stephanus, too, might have used Serenus' epitome. It is difficult to judge which alternative is correct. However, regarding the working method, which was applied by authors like Stephanus, the hypothesis might be preferable that Stephanus did not use Ph.s work directly, which, at his time, was about five hundred years old, but rather the more recent epitome of Aelius Serenus.

(24) Again (cf. F 18) Ph. told a foundation myth with a slight alteration, calling the father of Alope, who gave her name to the Thessalian city³¹, not Cercyon but Actor. Since Actor is a name quite common among Thessalian heroes, it is easy to see how Ph. came to think of it, in order to create a pseudo-learned variant.

(25) Ph.s information that there was an Antheia near Argos is quite dubious. It is perhaps a reference to one of the two ancient Ionian cities on the Peloponnese. It does not fit either of them exactly, however, since one lies close to Patras, the other near Troezen, and so it might have arisen from a lack of any precise knowledge.

(26) Ph. is referred to in relation both to the Lesbian and to an obscure Indian Antissa. If Stephanus' entry still preserves the order of the original, Ph.s work was arranged alphabetically. However, the order might be due to some epitome. Ph. told the foundation myth of Antissa. Perhaps he offered again a slight variant, saying that Antissa was the daughter of Macar(eus), the mythical king and κτιστης of Lesbos, and not his wife³².

(27) Ph. is quoted only for the ethnikon, but he will certainly have spoken about the cities, as the etymological explanation of the name Argura suggests³³.

(30) Ph. is quoted for a variant version of the foundation of Babylon, which he attributed to Babylon, son of Belus, rejecting the common tradition that it was founded by Semiramis on chronological grounds. The identification of Babylon with Seleucia, which is not

³⁰ Thus GUDEMAN (1912: 658).

³¹ On the Thessalian city cf. STRAB. *Geogr.* 9,5,8 p. 432 C.; on Stephanus' entry see WILAMOWITZ (1925: 130 n. 1); Alope near Delphi is identical with the city Alpa, see DITTENBERGER on *Syll.³* 610 (vol. II p. 147).

³² Cf. SCHOL. (bT) *Hom. Ω* 544 c, V p. 610,65-69 ERBSE: Μάκαρ ὁ Ήλιον καὶ Ρόδου φονεύσας τὸν ἀδελφὸν Τενάγην ἐκέισε (st. εἰς Λέσθον) <ἀπ>φέησε καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσας ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντισσαν ὠνόμασεν.

³³ On the Thessalian Argura which was identified with Argissa mentioned in Homer's catalogue of ships (*Il.* 2,738), see STRAB. *Geogr.* 9,5,19 p. 440 C.; HESIOD F 256 M.-W.; on the Euboean city cf. DEMOSTH. *Or.* 21,132; 164; HARP. α 222 s.v.; BÉRARD (1985: 268-275).

exact, although both cities are located in the same area, possibly goes back to Ph., too. As in the case of Arsinoe (F 17) and Laodicea (F 41) he might have tried to link a Hellenistic foundation with some older city. The fragment may belong either to Ph.s *On Cities* or his *Phoenician History*.

(32) Ph. is explicitly quoted for the etymology of Buthoe that made the name a composite of *bus* and *thoos*. We also find the same explanation in the Etymologicum Genuinum³⁴. The parallel suggests that both Stephanus and the Etymologicum had the same intermediate source, which was probably Orus³⁵. It remains uncertain whether the other explanations are also due to Ph. It was, in fact, a common tradition that Cadmus ended his life in Illyria³⁶. Sometimes he was also made an Egyptian³⁷, which may have given rise to the speculation that he named Buthoe after Βουτώ, the Egyptian city or goddess.

(33) Ph. is quoted for special information on the wall painter Pytheas of Bura³⁸, who is not otherwise known.

(34) The celebrities of Gerasa, listed by Ph., all remain obscure to us.

(35) If the transposition is correct, Ph. is again quoted on matters of myth and etymology. He apparently knew of a daughter of Epidamnus called Melissa, not attested elsewhere, and her son Dyrrachius, who is also referred to as Dyrrachus by Appian in his description of the events of 49 B.C., during the course of a long excursus on the city of Dyrrachium³⁹. Ph. may even belong to the authors whose mythological treatment of the early history of Epidamnus is reported and criticized by Appian.

(36) Segesta was famous for its hot springs⁴⁰. That it was founded by Acestes (Egestes, Aegestes, the name varies), a companion of Aeneas, must have been common knowledge to every Roman⁴¹. The myth originated in the 3rd century B.C., when Segesta joined the

³⁴ ET. GEN. β 171 BERGER (= ET. MAGN. 207,11-16) s.v. Βουθόη· πόλις Ἰλλυρίδος. εἴρηται δὲ ὅτι Κάδμος ἐπὶ βοῶν ζεύγονς ἐκάθητο καὶ ταχέως εἰς Ἰλλυριοὺς παραγενόμενος ἔκπισε πόλιν· καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βοῶν καὶ τοῦ θιώς φυγεῖν Βουθόην αὐτὴν ὀνόμασεν.

³⁵ Cf. REITZENSTEIN (1897: 328).

³⁶ Cf. LATTE (1919: 1466-1467).

³⁷ Cf. LATTE (1919: 1471).

³⁸ OVERBECK, no. 2109. ἀπὸ τοιχογραφίας ὁν refers to him, not to the elephant.

³⁹ APP. CIV. 2,152-158; on Epidamnus see also PAUS. 6,10,8.

⁴⁰ Cf. also PLIN. *Nat. hist.* 31,61; ATHEN. 2,17 p. 42 F as corrected by SCHWEIGHÄUSER (= THEOPHR. F 214 A FORTENBAUGH).

⁴¹ Cf. VERG. 1,195; 549ff; 5,35ff; STRAB. *Geogr.* 6,2,5 p. 272 C.

Romans at the beginning of the 1st Punic War (263 B.C.)⁴². The entry shows that Ph. also dealt with Roman matters.

(37) The Phoenician city Ἐλαία has not been located so far. It seems to be identical with the city Ἐλαῖς which is mentioned by Dionysius Periegetes⁴³. The information fits the *Phoenician History* as well as the work *On Cities*.

(38) Ph. is quoted explicitly only for the location of Ioppa, modern Jaffa, but it seems very likely that, as in other cases, he is also the source for the etymology as well. However, as often, the nature of the article is quite heterogeneous. First, a short reference to Dionysius Periegetes (l. 910) is inserted, who called the city a settlement of the Φοίνικες. His words are explained by Stephanus as a reference to Παλαιστίνη, because this was the common name for the region at his time⁴⁴. Then follows the etymology, according to which Ioppa is called after Iope, who is made the wife of Cepheus. This explanation is unique, though Cepheus, the Cephenes and the myth of Perseus and Andromeda are quite often located at Iope⁴⁵, and looks like a scholarly attempt to establish an etymological link between the myth and the name of the city. Since Cepheus' wife is usually Cassiopea, it provoked a critical remark of a later author, possibly Stephanus himself, which is inserted as a kind of gloss into the main text. The fragment is taken either from Ph.s *On Cities* or his *Phoenician History*.

(41) Ph. is quoted on the former names of the Syrian city Laodicea (ἢ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ). As in the case of the city Arsinoe (F 17), there is no reference to its Hellenistic foundation. Instead we are given some dubious information about its Phoenician origins and former names. The fragment reveals again Ph.s tendency to establish the priority of Phoenician over Greek culture, which pervades his *Phoenician History*, and may well be derived from it.

(43) Though Ph. is quoted explicitly only for an Iberian Megalopolis, the information on the Arcadian city and its celebrities could also be derived from him, since it would fit exactly the nature of his work. The Iberian city remains obscure. The fragment shows that Ph. also dealt with cities in the western part of the Roman empire.

(45) Stephanus' text raises some problems. The phrase Μελίτεια –

⁴² Cf. ZONAR. 8,9,12 (= DIO CASS. 11); for another συγγένεια see also an inscription of Centuripe in DUBOIS (1989: 225-226).

⁴³ DION. PERIEG. 910.

⁴⁴ Cf. AVI-YONAH (1973: 323).

⁴⁵ Cf. PS.-SCYL. 104; STRAB. GEogr. 1,2,35 p. 42-43 C.; 16,2,28 p. 759 C.; PLIN. NAT. hist. 6,182; TAC. Hist. 5,2; cf. also BURKERT (1984: 82).

Μελίτεις has been transposed by most editors⁴⁶ after the quotation from Ephorus, since Ph. could not have called Malta by the name of Μελίτεια. However, the transposition causes some difficulties because it introduces a new city and it is hard to see what the words τὰ αὐτὰ πρόγυματα should now denote. On the other hand, the transmitted text makes perfect sense. First, Stephanus talks about Μελίταια, the Thessalian city. He quotes Theopompus (115 F 373) for a variant of the name (Μελίτεια)⁴⁷, Ephorus (70 F 95) for the ethnikon. He then speaks about Μελίτη, an island between Italy and Epirus, from which the pet dogs acquired their name⁴⁸. Thirdly, Malta, said to be an Carthaginian colony⁴⁹ and called Meliteia, is introduced, about which Ph. related the same matter as was told about the other, aforementioned island, i.e. that the dogs were named after it. This interpretation seems to be supported by parallels from Strabo and the Etymologicum Genuinum, which show that there was some dispute about the island after which the dogs were named⁵⁰. The text should therefore be left as it is.

(47) Ph. is quoted explicitly only on Olbia in Pamphylia. The criticism in Stephanus arises from the fact that the borderline of Pamphylia is drawn differently. Therefore, Olbia is located variously in Pamphylia or Lycia⁵¹, or, as in the case of Stephanus, in the land of the quite obscure Solymi⁵².

(48) The correct form of the name is Τελμισσός⁵³. Stephanus erroneously identifies the two cities of that name with each other, the Carian and the Lycian one near the Carian border⁵⁴.

(49) A founder of Tius with the same name as the city is also known from coins⁵⁵.

⁴⁶ The transposition is already to be found in the Aldina.

⁴⁷ On the different forms cf. DITTENBERGER (1906: 169-171).

⁴⁸ On the island cf. PLIN. NAT. hist. 3,152 (= CALLIM. F 579 PFEIFFER with further testimonies); on the Maltese dogs see STEIN (1992: 215-216).

⁴⁹ Cf. PS.-SCYLAX 111; DIOD. BIBL. 5,12.

⁵⁰ STRAB. GEogr. 6,2,11: πρόκειται δὲ τὸν Παχύνου Μελίτη, οὗθεν τὰ κυνίδια, ἡ καλοῦσιν Μελίταια. ΕΤΥΜ. GEN. B s.v. Μελίταια κυνίδια: λέγεται ὅτι πλησίον Ἰταλίας νήσος ἔστι Μελίτη, ἐξ ἧς εἰσι Μελίταια κυνίδια. Πολέμων δ' ἐν Κτίσεσι (δὲ ἔκτισε B) Σικελίας Μελίτην (Σικελίων Μελίτης B) φοῖν είναι.

⁵¹ Cf. STRAB. GEogr. 14,4,1 p. 667 C.; PLIN. NAT. hist. 5,96 (Pamphylia); PS.-SCYLAX 100 (Lycia).

⁵² The exact location of the country of the Solymi was also disputed in antiquity. They are often identified with the Λῦκοι.

⁵³ RUGE (1934: 410-411).

⁵⁴ On the Carian city and on Daedala see HORNBLOWER (1982: 93-94; 335 n. 20).

⁵⁵ Cf. in general WÜST (1937: 1411-1412). The city is also called a Milesiorum colonia by MELA Chor. 1,104.

(50) On the Cretan Pharac, on which Ph. is quoted explicitly, cf. also Pliny in his *Nat. hist.* 4,59.

(51) Ph. gives a variant concerning the birthplace of the mimographer Philistion⁵⁶, who lived in Tiberian times. He seems to have listed him among the famous citizens of Sardes. The entry shows that Ph.s work also included persons of the Imperial age.

(52) Ph. said that Dionysius was called Kyrtos after his native city. His statement is preserved rightly by Stephanus, whereas it seems to have been mixed up with other opinions in the scholion⁵⁷. The exact correspondence of their subject-matter shows that both of the titles *On the Acquisition and Choice of Books* and *On Physicians* refer to the same book. *On Physicians* was probably the subtitle of the ninth book of a far more comprehensive work entitled *On the Acquisition and Choice of Books*. This work was apparently arranged according to the different literary genres⁵⁸.

(53) Stephanus quotes Ph. as an authority for the form of the ethnikon Δυρράχινός instead of Δυρράχιος. The word ἀναγράφει shows that Ph.s work was a kind of *pinax*⁵⁹. Stephanus' article combines two entries from Ph., on Asclepiades and on Philonides. The form of the entries and the fact that the one on Philonides is quoted in second place suggest that Ph.s work was arranged alphabetically⁶⁰, as one would also expect in the case of a systematic guide book. The physicians who are mentioned all belong to the 1st century B.C.⁶¹ Asclepiades is the most important of them, whereas the others remain quite obscure to us. It appears that a short biographical notice preceded a more or less elaborate book list, though, as F 52 shows, there was always room for the display of eruditon. In the case of the physicians the principle of the διαδοχή obviously played an important role in the brief sketch of character.

⁵⁶ On the article of the Suda, which is quite confused, cf. ROHDE I (1901: 372).

⁵⁷ For further comment cf. also on 1061. HERMIPPUS T 4.

⁵⁸ Cf. GUDEMAN (1912: 653); PALMIERI (1988: 39-40).

⁵⁹ GUDEMAN (1912: 653); PALMIERI (1988: 40).

⁶⁰ Cf., however, GUDEMAN (1912: 653)

⁶¹ On Asclepiades see SUSEMIL II (1892: 428-440). Aufidius is mentioned as his *sectator* also in CAEL. AURELIAN. *Ac. morb.* 2,158; *Tard. morb.* 3,78. Nicon of Acragas is perhaps identical with the physician mentioned by Cic. *Epist. fam.* 7,20,3. An identification of Philonides is difficult. Maybe, he is identical with Philonides from Catana, cf., however, BERNERT (1941: 73-74).

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1061. Hermippus of Berytus

(1st half 2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 (*FHG* III, p. 35) *SUDA* ε 3045 s.v. "Ἐρμιππος (F 1 DEL CORNO), Βηρύτιος, ἀπὸ κώμης μεσογαίου, μαθητὴς Φίλωνος τοῦ Βυβλίου (1060 T 2): ὑφ' οὐ φκειώθη Ἐρεννίῳ Σευήρῳ ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔκδουλος ὃν γένος, λόγιος σφόδρα· καὶ ἔγραψε πολλά. ἔγραψε καὶ περὶ ὄνειρων.

5 **2** *SUDA* v 375 s.v. Νικάνωρ (628 T 1), ὁ Ἐρμείου, Ἀλεξανδρεύς, γραμματικός, γεγονώς ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτε καὶ "Ἐρμιππος ὁ Βηρύτιος.

3 (*FHG* III, p. 51, F 73) *SUDA* 1 706 s.v. "Ιστρος (334 T 1), Μενάνδρου, "Ιστρου, Κυρηναίος ἢ Μακεδών, συγγραφεύς, Καλλιμάχου δούλος καὶ γνώριμος. "Ἐρμιππος δὲ αὐτὸν φησι Πάφιον ἐν τῷ β' Τῶν διαπρεψάντων ἐν 10 παιδείᾳ δούλων. ἔγραψε δὲ πολλὰ καὶ καταλογάδην καὶ ποιητικῶς.

4 (*FHG* III, p. 52, F 73 a) *SCHOL.* (*R²*) *ORIBAS.* 44,14,1 p. 132 *RAEDER* III: Διονύσιον τὸν κυρτόν] ὁ Φίλων ἐν τῷ θ' Περὶ βιβλιοθήκης κτήσεως (1060 F 52 b) καὶ "Ἐρμιππος ἐν τῷ ε' Περὶ τῶν διὰ παιδείαν ὑμνηθέντων [ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν] ιατρῶν καὶ ὁ Σωρανὸς ἐν ταῖς Τῶν ιατρῶν διαδοχαῖς (1062 F 1) 15 φασιν, ὅτι καὶ ὀξυτόνως εἱρηται κυρτός, ως φοξός, διὰ σωματικὴν ἀσθένειαν, βαρυτόνως δέ, ως ἵππος, πύργος, ἐπεὶ ἐκ μεσογαίου πόλεως τῆς Αἴγυπτου λεγομένης Κύρτου ὑπῆρχεν, ἢ, ως φασί τινες, διὰ τὸ ἀλίσκεσθαι τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας <ύπ> αὐτοῦ ὕσπερ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλιευτικῶν κύρτων.

² τοῦ Βυβλίου *om.* *A* ³ Ἐρεννίῳ *Küster*: Ἐρρενίῳ *codd.* ⁴ ἔγραψε ... ὄνειρων *ex A^{marg.}*, cf. *Adler I p. XV-XVI* ⁵ γραμματικός *om.* *A* ⁸ "Ιστρου *codd.*: ιστορικοῦ *Küster*: ιατροῦ *Daub* (*1880: 68*): ἢ "Ιστρου *Siebelis*; a grammatico insertum *Gutschmid*, duas glossas" I. Μενάνδρου *et al.* I. "Ιστρ. in unum coaliuisse cens. Jacoby" (1916: 2270). ⁹ β' *GVM*: βιφ' *A* : βιβλίφ' *I* ¹³ "Ἐρμιππος *edd.*: ἐρμηππος *codd.* || παιδείαν *edd.* : παιδίαν *codd.* || ὑμνηθέντων *Cronert in exemplari suo* : σεμνηθ- *codd.* || ἐνδόξων *edd.* : εὐδόξων *codd.* ¹³⁻¹⁴ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν *delevi* ¹⁸ ὑπ' *suppl.* *Daremberg* || κύρτων *edd.* : κυρτῶν *codd.*

1061. Hermippus of Berytus

(1st half 2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 Hermippus of Berytus, from an inland village, a pupil of Philo of Byblus, who introduced him to Herennius Severus at the time of the Emperor Hadrian, a slave by birth, very learned. And he wrote many things. He also wrote about dreams.

2 Nicanor, son of Hermias, of Alexandria, grammarian, lived under the Emperor Hadrian, at the same time as Hermippus of Berytus.

3 Ister, son of Menander, son of Ister, Cyrenaean or Macedonian, writer, slave and pupil of Callimachus. But Hermippus says in his second book *On Slaves Prominent in Learning* that he came from Paphus. He wrote many things in both prose and verse.

4 Dionysius the *kyrtos*] Philo in the ninth book of his *On the Acquisition of a Library*, Hermippus in the fifth book of his *On Famous Physicians Honoured on Account of Their Learning*, and Soranus in his *Succession of Physicians* say that *kyrtos* is pronounced both oxytone (*sc. kyrtós*, hunchbacked) like *foxós* (*i.e.* sugarloaf-headed), because it signifies a bodily weakness, and barytone like *hippos*, *pýrgos*, because it is derived from an Egyptian inland town called *Kýrtos*, or, as some say, because those speaking against him (*sc. Dionysius*) were caught by him like fish in fishing nets (*i.e. kýrtoi*).

- 5 (F 2 DEL CORNO) TERT. *Anim.* 46,10-11: (...) quanti autem commentatores et affirmatores in hanc rem? Artemon Antiphon Strato Philochorus (328 T 20) 7) Epicharmus Serapion Cratippus Dionysius Rhodius Hermippus, tota saeculi litteratura. (...) (11) ceterum Epicharmus etiam summum apicem inter divinationes somniis extulit cum Philochoro Athenensi. nam et oraculis hoc genus stipatus est orbis, ut Amphiaraei apud Oropum, Amphilochi apud Mallum, Sarpedonis in Troade, Trophonii in Boeotia, Mopsi in Cilicia, 25 Hermione in Macedonia, Pasiphae in Laconica. cetera cum suis et originibus et ritibus et relatoribus, cum omni deinceps historia somniorum, Hermippus Beryensis quinione voluminum satiatissime exhibebit.
- 6 (FHG III, p. 35) CLEM. *Strom.* 6,145,2: καὶ μνήμα τοιαῦτα ἀγιάζων τὸν ἀριθμὸν παρατίθεται "Ἐρμιππος ὁ Βηρύτιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἑβδομάδος.

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΠΡΕΨΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΙ ΔΟΥΛΩΝ?

(T 3; F 1; F 3-5)

- 30 1 (FHG III, p. 51, F 72) ET. GEN. p. 37 MILLER (= ET. MAGN. 118,11-15) s.v. Ἀπάμεια· πόλις Βιθυνίας, πρότερον Μυρλέα καλουμένη· ἦν λαβών δῶρα παρὰ Φιλίππου τοῦ Δημητρίου ὁ Ζηῆλας μετωνόμασεν Ἀπάμειαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἔσυντοῦ γυναικὸς Ἀπάμας. "Ἐρμιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ λαμψάντων λόγῳ. οὐτως Ὁρος.

ΠΕΡΙ ΟΝΕΙΡΩΝ

(T 5)

ΠΕΡΙ ΕΒΔΟΜΑΔΟΣ

(T 6)

- 5 (...) But how many are those who have written about or have affirmed this matter? Artemon, Antiphon, Straton, Philochorus, Epicharmus, Serapion, Cratippus, Dionysius of Rhodes, Hermippus, the whole pagan literature. (...) (11) Moreover, Epicharmus accorded to dreams even the highest rank amongst prophecies, as did Philochorus of Athens. Indeed, the world is crowded with oracles of such kind, like that of Amphiaraus near Oropus, that of Amphilochus near Mallus, of Sarpedon in the Troas, of Trophonius in Boeotia, of Mopsus in Cilicia, of Hermione in Macedonia, of Pasiphae in Laconia. Of the others, their origins, rites and chroniclers included, together with the whole successive history of dreams, Hermippus of Berytus in five volumes will give more than sufficient information.

6 And innumerable things of this kind Hermippus of Berytus puts forward in his book *On Seven* to sanctify the number.

F

ON SLAVES PROMINENT IN LEARNING

(T 3; F1; F 3-5;)

- 1 Apamea: a city of Bithynia, earlier called Myrlea, to which Ziaelas gave the name Apamea after his wife Apame, when he had received it as a gift from Philip, son of Demetrius. Hermippus in his book *On Famous Men of Letters*. Thus Orus.

ON DREAMS

(T 5)

ON SEVEN

(T 6)

²⁶ relationibus AB : relationibus Semler ³² ὁ Ζηῆλας vel Ζηῆλας codd. : Προυσίας ὁ Ζηῆλα Müller, FHG III, p. 51, sed incertum error librarii an auctoris sit. ³³ λαμψάντων λόγῳ codd. : διαλαμψάντων δούλων Hemsterhusius fortasse recte, cf. T 3.

Untitled Fragments

- 35 **2** (*FHG* III, p. 35) *SUDA* π 664 s.v. Παρθένιος (*SH* 605), Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Εύδώρας, "Ἐρμιππος δὲ Τήθας φησί· Νικαεὺς ἡ Μυρλεανός, ἐλεγειοποιός καὶ μέτρων διαιφόρων ποιητής. Οὗτος ἐλήφθη ύπὸ Κίννα λάφυρον, ὅτε Μιθριδάτην Ρωμαῖοι κατεπολέμησαν· εἶτα ἡφείθη διὰ τὴν παίδευσιν καὶ ἐβίω μέχρι Τιβερίου τοῦ Καίσαρος. (...)
- 40 **3** (*FHG* III, p. 52) *SUDA* α 97 s.v. "Αβρων· Φρὺξ ἡ Ρόδιος, γραμματικός, μαθητής Τρύφωνος, σοφιστεύσας ἐν Ρώμῃ, γεγονὼς δὲ ἐκ δούλων, ὃς φησιν "Ἐρμιππος.
- 4** (*FHG* III, p. 35) *SUDA* σ 355 s.v. Σίβυλλα, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Λαμίας, κατὰ δέ τινας Ἀριστοκράτους καὶ Ὑδάλης, ὡς δὲ ἄλλοι Κριναγόρουν, ὡς δὲ "Ἐρμιππος
- 45 Θεοδώρου. Ἐρυθραία, παρὰ τὸ τεχθῆναι ἐν χωρίῳ τῶν Ἐρυθρῶν, ὃ προσηγορεύετο Βάτοι· νῦν δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον πολισθὲν Ἐρυθραὶ προσαγορεύονται. (...)
- 50 **5** (*FHG* III, p. 36) *STEPH. BYZ.* s.v. Ράβεννα· πόλις Ἰταλίας. "Ἐρμιππος ὁ Βηρύτιος Ραούενναν αὐτὴν καλεῖ.
- 6 (a)** *ET. GEN. AB* (= *ET. MAGN. 288*) s.v. δροίτη· Ἡ πύελος· ὁ δὲ Αἰτωλός (*ALEX. AET. F 16 p. 128 POWELL*) φησι τὴν σκάφην ἐν ᾧ τιθηνεῖται τὰ βρέφη. Παρθένιος (*SH* 661) δὲ τὴν σορόν, καὶ Αἰσχύλος (*Choeph. 999*). καὶ ἔστι παρὰ τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὸν οἴτον, τὸν θάνατον, τὸ δόρυ τὸ εἰς θάνατον ἐπιτήδειον. ἡ ἡ ἐκ δρυὸς εἰς οἴτον πεποιημένη, καὶ εἰς τὸ δέχεσθαι τὸ σκῆνος. κατὰ τὸν "Ἐρμιππον οὖν διὰ τοῦ ὑ γράφεται, παρὰ τὴν δρῦν τὴν ξυλίνην· καὶ ἵσως ὅτε μὲν σημαίνει τὴν πύελον διὰ τοῦ ὑ, ὅτε δὲ τὴν σορὸν διὰ τῆς οἱ. **(b)** *LEX. ZONAR.* s.v. δροίτη col. 571 *TITTMANN*: (...) "Ἐρμιππος δὲ ὁ Βηρύτιος δρύτην τὴν πύελον καλεῖ, παρὰ τὴν δρῦν τὴν ξυλίνην. κατὰ τὸν "Ἐρμιππον οὖν διὰ τοῦ ὑ ψιλοῦ γραφήσεται.

³⁶ "Ἐρμιππος ... φησί *F* : *om. A*" ⁴⁶⁻⁴⁷ Ἐρυθραὶ προσαγορεύονται *A* : προσ- Ἐρ. *GM*

⁴⁹ Ραούενναν *Pinedo* : Ρούενναν *codd.* : Ρούενναν *Holstenius* ⁵³ *Sic interponxi* : θάνατον τὸ *edd.*, *sed iungendum est* ... τὸ δόρυ τὸ κτλ.

Untitled Fragments

- 2** Parthenius, son of Heraclides and Eudora, or, according to Hermippus, of Tetha; of Nicaea or Myrlea, writer of elegies and poet in different metres. He was taken as booty by Cinna, when the Romans defeated Mithradates. Afterwards he was released on account of his learning and lived until Tiberius, the Emperor. (...)
- 3** Habron, Phrygian or Rhodian, grammarian, pupil of Tryphon, practising as a sophist in Rome, slave by birth, as says Hermippus.
- 4** Sibylla, daughter of Apollon and Lamia, according to some of Aristocrates and Hydale, as others say of Crinagoras, as Hermippus says of Theodorus. Erythrean, because she was born in a place of Erythrae called Batoi. At present, this place is called Erythrae following the building of a city there.
- 5** *Rabenna*: a city of Italy. Hermippus of Berytus calls it *Ravenna*.
- 6 (a)** *droite*: bathing tub. Alexander Aetolus calls thus the container in which the newborn are tended to (*i.e.* cradle), Parthenius and Aeschylus the coffin. And after its components *dory* (*i.e.* stem) and *oitos*, which means death, it is the stem serviceable for death. Or, the vessel made from wood (*i.e.* drys) for death (*i.e.* *oitos*), and for receiving the corpse. According to Hermippus it is written with a *y*, after the wooden *drys*. And perhaps it means sometimes tub, when written with *y*, and sometimes coffin, when written with an *oi*. **(b)** *droite*: (...) Hermippus of Berytus calls the tub *dryte* after the wooden *drys*. According to Hermippus it is written with a *y*.

Uncertain Fragment

- 60 **7** (*FHG* III, p. 35) **(a)** CLEM. *Strom.* 1,73,3: ὁ δὲ Βηρύτιος Ἐρμιππος Χείρωνα
τὸν Κένταυρον σοφὸν καλεῖ, ἐφ' οὐκ οὐκὶ ὁ τὴν Τιτανομαχίαν (F 6 *EGF*) γράψας
φησίν, ώς πρώτος οὗτος
εἴς τε δικαιοσύνην θνητῶν γένος ἥγαγε δείξας
ὅρκους καὶ θυσίας ἵλαρὰς καὶ σχήματα Ὄλύμπου.
65 **(b)** THEODORET. *Graec. aff. cur.* 12,46: καὶ Χείρωνα δὲ τὸν Κένταυρον
Ἐρμιππός φησιν ὁ Βηρύτιος δικαιοσύνης γενέσθαι διδάσκαλον.

⁶⁴ ἵλαρὰς *codd.* : ἱερὰς *Kochly*

Uncertain Fragment

- 7 (a)** Hermippus of Berytus calls Chiron the centaur wise. **(b)** And Hermippus of Berytus says Chiron the centaur was a teacher of justice. The author of the *Titanomachia* has written of him that he was the first who introduced mankind to justice showing them oaths, merry sacrifices and the figures of the Olymp.

1061. Hermippus of Berytus

(1st half 2nd cent. A.D.)

Introduction

Hermippus of Berytus flourished during the reign of the emperor Hadrian. He was born in a village near Berytus, and was a pupil of Philo of Byblus (1060), who acquainted him with his patron Herennius Severus¹. H. was probably a *libertus*. Like his teacher H. was interested in biography. His social status and profession might have put it into his head to write about famous men of letters who were slaves. Although there remain but a few named fragments (T 3; F 3-5), the book has made some impact on our biographical tradition, insofar as it was one of Hesychius' important sources. In the Suda about thirty entries on famous slaves, taken from Hesychius, seem to go back—at least to some extent—to H.s biographical collection². That H. must be the source is indicated by the fact that the Suda lists no slaves famous in the field of *paideia* living after Hadrianic times. The work apparently included biographies of poets, philosophers and scholars from the 7th century B.C. onwards³. If the impression we get from the Suda is correct, this work became increasingly more detailed the nearer it came to H.s own time, since about nine examples are taken from the 1st century A.D.⁴ Thus, H.s method of composing was perhaps comparable in this respect to that of Philostratus in his *Lives of the Sophists*. Furthermore, H. wrote some *Lives of Physicians* (T 4).

¹ Herennius is said to have been consul between A.D. 101 and 104. On the difficulties connected with this date cf. on 1060. PHILO T 1.

² Cf. WACHSMUTH (1867: 140-143), to whom I also owe the examples given in the following note. They might of course not all go back to H., as perhaps the information on Persaeus, Diogenes and Aeschines.

³ Poets: Alcman (α 1289); Antimachus (α 2681); Antiphanes (α 2735 = test. 1 K.-A.); Aristophanes (α 3932 = test. 2 b K.-A.); Choerilus (χ 595); Mesomedes (μ 668); Parthenius (F 2); Philoxenus (φ 393); Phormus (φ 609); Phrynis (φ 761); Rhianus (ρ 158). Grammarians and orators: Aeschines (αι 347); Aesopus, reader of Mithradates (αι 333); Alexander Polyhistor (α 1129); Apion (α 3215); Caecilius of Caleacte (κ 1165); Epaphroditus (ε 2004); Habron (F 3); Ister (T 3); Theodorus of Gadara (θ 151); Timagenes (τ 588); Tyrannion the Elder (τ 1184); Tyrannion the Younger (τ 1185); Phlegon (φ 527); Sibyrtius (σ 364). Philosophers: Diagoras, pupil of Democritus (δ 523); Diogenes (δ 1143); Epictetus (ε 2424); Hermias of Atarneus (ε 3040); Persaeus (ε 1368); Phaedon (φ 154). Authors of prose: Aesop (αι 334); Iamblichus, the novelist (ι 26). Physician: Aristogenes (α 3911).

⁴ Apion, Epaphroditus, Epictetus, Habron, Iamblichus, Caecilius of Caleacte, Mesomedes, Phlegon, Theodorus of Gadara.

Unfortunately, it is not clear how they relate to H.s biographies of learned slaves, since the title we now have is extremely muddled. Possibly they were just a part of the same biographical collection⁵. It is an intriguing question whether Soranus (1062) used H.s *Lives of Physicians* in his collection. Maybe he did. Apart from the biographies, H. also composed five books *On Dreams* (T 1; F 2), which Tertullianus used in some chapters of his *De anima*. Since Soranus is one of Tertullianus' main sources, there is again the question as to whether there is a relationship between Soranus' and H.s work. Perhaps it was through Soranus that Tertullianus had access to H.s writings. Finally, a treatise *On Seven* is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria as his source. Although we are not given any other title, it seems quite likely that H. also wrote some grammatical treatises (F 6; 7). In general, H.s literary profile, as far as we can reconstruct it from the fragments, is typical of his time. He was a prolific writer who amassed a great deal of knowledge. His erudition expressed itself especially in learned variants, which he added to the texts he compiled and for which he is often quoted by our sources. Most, if not all, of it, however, will have only been for show.

Commentary on the Testimonies and the Fragments

T

(1) The Suda's entry on H. is quite condensed. The chronological indication ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ clearly refers to H.s *floruit* and not to his introduction to Herennius Severus⁶. A list of works is missing, only H.s treatise *On Dreams* is added by a marginal gloss⁷.

(2) The synchronism between Nicanor, known to us especially as one of the authors of the so-called “four-man commentary”, and H. is remarkable. Maybe both T 1 and T 2 are taken from the same source, possibly a collective work on scholars.

(3) The wording of the entry is difficult. Μενάνδρου Ἰστρού must be corrupt, because in the case of Ister, a slave, the mention of his grandfather appears absurd. Such a reference would, moreover, be unusual in the Suda. It is not, however, at all clear where the text might have been corrupted. Perhaps Ἰστρού and Μενάνδρου should

⁵ Cf. on T 4.

⁶ Perhaps one should put a comma after Σενήρω.

⁷ Cf. ADLER I p. XV-XVI.

simply be regarded as alternative names⁸; otherwise, the entries on two different Isters might have fused into one⁹.

(4) Dionysius, who is quoted by Oribasius as an authority on λοιμώδεις βουθώνες, can not be dated with any certainty. Though there are several physicians who bear his name, identifying him remains impossible¹⁰. The scholion offers scholarly comment on the origin, the meaning and the accentuation of Dionysius' surname κυρτός¹¹. It looks as if it has been taken from an etymological dictionary (*Orus?*¹²). The opinions of the three authors have apparently been combined¹³. The beginning (ὅτι καὶ ὀξυτόνως ... ἀσθένειαν) looks like an explanation of general application of the word κυρτός, whereas the latter part of it seems to refer only to Dionysius' case. Three different explanations of Dionysius' surname are offered: It is derived (a) from κυρτός (hunchbacked) as a kind of sobriquet, (b) from the Egyptian town Κύρτος, (c) from κύρτος (fishing net). The title of H.s work Περὶ τῶν διὰ παιδείαν σεμνηθέντων ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν, as given by the scholion, seems to be corrupt. Apart from σεμνηθέντων, which is perhaps best emended to ύμνηθέντων, the abundance of expression is hardly tolerable. Moreover, five books on physicians appear to be too many. Perhaps two different titles have been conflated¹⁴: Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν and Περὶ τῶν διὰ παιδείαν ύμνηθέντων ἀντρῶν. If both are genuine titles of H.s work, the first must be the title of the entire collection, the second the subtitle of a section or a book. Thus, the book on physicians would have formed the fifth book of a larger work *On Famous Men*¹⁵. An obvious parallel

⁸ The addition of a variant is a common feature in the Suda, cf. e.g. α 4121 s.v. Ἀρχύτας, Ἐστιοῖνον νιός ἡ Μνησάρχου ἡ Μνασαγέτου ἡ Μνασαγόρου and δ 447 s.v. Δημόκριτος; ε 2766 s.v. Επίχαρμος. H. is also quoted for alternatives in F 3; 4. In this case we have to read ἡ Ἰστρου (SIEBELIS), or, if the second name was written as a gloss, to eject either Μενάνδρου or Ἰστρου, cf. GUTSCHMID in FLACH's edition of Hesychius.

⁹ Cf. *FGrHist* 334 T 1. The third case, that "Ιστρου has corrupted out of ιατροῦ (DAUB) or ιστορικοῦ (KÜSTER), does not appear very likely, since it is difficult to see how a father of a slave should be referred to as a historian or physician.

¹⁰ Cf. WELLMANN (1903: 976).

¹¹ On κυρτός and κύρτος see CHANTRAINE s.v.; ROBERT (1960: 41-42).

¹² Cf. F 1 and the parallel with STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Κύρτος (1060. PHILO F 52 a).

¹³ Cf. DAREMBERG BUSSEMAKER (1858: 687): "Le mot φασὶ ne signifie donc pas que tous les trois auteurs cités avaient donné, chacun en particulier, les trois explications de ce surnom que fournit notre scholie; mais probablement l'un celle-ci, l'autre celle-là."

¹⁴ Cf. also JACOBY, *FGrHist* 790 F 52, who suggests deleting ιατρῶν.

¹⁵ See HEIBGES (1912: 853), rejected without convincing arguments by SCHMID II 2 (1924: 868).

for such a practice is not hard to find, since Philo, H.s teacher, seems also to have given different subtitles to individual books of his work *On the Acquisition of a Library*. Since H. is quoted along with Philo (1060) and Soranus (1062) in chronological order, the question arises as to whether we should assume some relationship between him and these authors. In the case of Philo, one might think that he was H.s source, in the case of Soranus, that he used H.s collection, though of course firm proof remains impossible.

(5) H.s work *On Dreams* seems to have contained lists of dream-interpreters and dream-oracles. In composing it H. apparently used a collection of θαυμάσια. As the wording of the testimony suggests, H.s dream-book was Tertullianus' source in the chapters of *De anima* which are concerned with dreams (45-49)¹⁶. There is the question of whether Tertullianus used it directly or found it in some other source. Since one of Tertullianus' main sources was Soranus, who is quoted together with H. in T 4 and who possibly used H.s biographies, it is tempting to assume some connection in this case as well. In this way, Tertullianus would have obtained the material from H. via Soranus. H.s book *On Dreams* was perhaps also a source of Artemidorus'¹⁷.

(6) Judging from the information Clement offers in the relevant section of his *Stromateis*¹⁸, H. seems to have accorded quite a general treatment to the hebdomas, including remarks on the different cycles, on the planets, on musical harmonies and even on the composition of the human body. Probably he amassed a lot of obscure and hermetic knowledge.

F

(1) It seems very likely that H. made his remarks on the renaming of Myrlea in his biography of the poet Parthenius (F 2), who came from this city. Since the place is neither famous nor important, one can probably exclude the possibility that it was mentioned elsewhere in H.s biographies. The text of the *Etymologicum* offers some difficul-

¹⁶ Cf. MAASS (1892: 146); DEL CORNO (1969: 142-153); TRÄNKLE, *HLL* IV (1997: 475); WASZINK (1947: 44-45*) on 46,11: "From this sentence the conclusion may be unreservedly drawn that all the material concerning dreams which is found in chapters 45/9 derives from the dream-book of Hermippus: The words *cum omni ... historia somniorum* do not admit of any other interpretation. This inference is strongly supported by the circumstance that Tert. uses a superlative here (*satiatissime*), for in two other passages in his work he also employs this form to denote his chief authority. (...)" Cf. also his detailed commentary on *De Anima* 45-49.

¹⁷ Cf. HEIBGES (1912: 853).

¹⁸ Strom. 6,140-145.

ties. The title it gives for H.s work Περὶ τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ λαμψάντων λόγῳ, appears to be corrupt. In view of the generally curt and succinct style of the dictionary as a whole, the addition of the superfluous λόγῳ gives cause for suspicion¹⁹. Since the reference seems to be to H.s work on famous slaves, the original wording was perhaps something like Περὶ τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ διαλαμψάντων δούλων²⁰. The statement that Philip V gave the city to Ziaelas²¹ has no parallel. It was rather his father Prusias I who cooperated with Philip V, Ziaelas being a generation younger. Moreover, the article ὁ in connection with Ζήλας looks rather odd, since Ziaelas has not been introduced so far and the lexicographer usually follows the general rule of not using the article in such cases. Thus, it seems quite likely that H. wrote Προυσίας ὁ Ζήλα (Ζηίλα)²², which was corrupted at some stage in its transmission, and that he attributed the renaming of Myrlea to Prusias I, as Strabo does as well²³. Another version of the renaming is given by Stephanus of Byzantium, who tells the same story of Nicomedes, the son of Prusias II²⁴, and there has been some controversy as to which version is correct²⁵. It seems, however, most likely that Strabo and H. are correct, since Prusias I founded other cities too, including Prusias in Bithynia in the neighbourhood of Myrlea, the history of which is linked with that of Myrlea by Strabo²⁶. Fur-

¹⁹ Cf. HEMSTERHUSIUS (in GAISFORD's edition) and WACHSMUTH (1867: 143 n. 16): "abhorret certe ἐν τῷ περὶ τ. ἐ. π. λ. λόγῳ a constanti usu grammaticorum scholiastarum lexicographorum neque omnino nullum plane exemplum memini."

²⁰ Cf. HEMSTERHUSIUS ad loc.

²¹ On the different spellings of his name see HABICHT (1972: 387-388).

²² MÜLLER, FHG III, p. 51.

²³ STRAB. Geogr. 12,4,3 p. 563-564 C.: κατέσκαψε δὲ τὴν Κιον Φίλιππος, ὁ Δημητρίου μὲν νίος, Περσέως δὲ πατήρ, ἔδωκε δὲ Προυσίᾳ τῷ Ζῆλᾳ, συγκατασκάψαντι καὶ ταύτην καὶ Μύρλειαν ἀστυεγίτονα πόλιν, πλήσιον δὲ καὶ Προυσίῃ οὐσαν· ἀναλαβὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τῶν ἐρειπίων αὐτὰς ἐπανόμασεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μὲν Προυσιάδα πόλιν τὴν Κιον, τὴν δὲ Μύρλειαν Ἀπάμειαν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικός.

²⁴ STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Μύρλεια, πόλις Βιθυνίας, ἡ νῦν λεγομένη Ἀπάμεια· ἀπὸ Μύρλου τοῦ Κολοφωνίων ἥγεμονος. Νικομήδης δὲ ὁ Ἐπιφανῆς, Προυσίου δὲ νίος, ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀπάμας Ἀπάμειαν ὀνόμασεν. Repeated by STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἀπάμεια.

²⁵ In favour of Prusias I cf. e.g. WALBANK (1940: 114-115); VITUCCI (1953: 48-49); MAREK (1993: 23); in favour of Nicomedes see WILHELM (1984 [1908]: 309-316), followed by HABICHT (1957: 1096) and CORSTEN (1987: 10). WILHELM (1908: 75-82) argues that the name of Prusias I's wife could not be Apame, because Prusias II's wife was called Apame as well, cf. IG II/III² 3172. However, it is possible that both wives had indeed the same name, especially insofar as they were related as aunt and niece.

²⁶ Cf. STRAB. loc. cit. and STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Προυσία· Προυσία, τῆς Προυσιάδος διαφέρει. Ἡ μὲν γάρ Προυσίας Βιθυνίας, ἀπὸ Προυσίου τοῦ Ζῆλα τοῦ Βιθυνῶν βασιλέως, ἡ Κιος πρότερον ὄνομασθεῖσα (...).

thermore, H.s claim that Philip V gave Myrlea to Prusias for his services in 202 b.c., who may have renamed it on this occasion, looks very plausible.

(2) Strictly speaking, H. is only cited for the alternative name of Parthenius' mother. But F 1 shows that the variant concerning Parthenius' birthplace Myrlea²⁷ must be due to H., too, and the story that the poet was captured in the Mithradatic wars and was afterwards released on account of his learning accords well with a work on famous slave intellectuals. The fate of the grammarian Tyrannion, described by the Suda (τ 1184) in an article which seems to come from H. as well, is strikingly similar. There Tyrannion is said to have been captured by Lucullus in the Mithradatic wars. This leads us to the question of what sense is to be made out of the statement that Parthenius was taken as booty by Cinna. As has long been noticed, this cannot be the famous Cornelian Cinna, since he died in 84 b.c. and is not known to have been on campaign in Asia²⁸. Thus, the reference is either to the poet Helvius Cinna²⁹ or his father³⁰, or it originated by some mistake, Cinna being confused with Lucullus, whose armies took Nicaea in the third Mithradatic war, or one of his followers³¹. Despite the slight chronological oddity³², the first alternative is perhaps preferable. As regards the history of literature, some link between the Greek poet Parthenius and the Latin poet Cinna would appear quite plausible, and the whole story might be fictitious anyway. It shows, however, that it can have hardly been H. who put Parthenius' death—slightly too late—at the time of Tiberius' reign³³.

(3) Although it remains uncertain how much of the entry goes back to H., the data he provided would probably have been quite similar. Habron³⁴, pupil of Tryphon, belongs to the group of Imperial scholars, which seems to have formed a central part of H.s book on famous slave intellectuals.

²⁷ It is also attested by epigraphic evidence, an epigram dating to the times of Hadrian, cf. IG XIV 1089 (= SH 605 d). For Nicaea as Parthenius' birthplace see STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Νικαία; SUDA v 261 s.v. Νέστωρ Λαρανδεύς.

²⁸ MEINEKE (1843: 256).

²⁹ Cf. ROSTAGNI II 2 (1956: 57-66), who argues that the poet Cinna went with Pompey to the East in 66 b.c.

³⁰ Cf. SUSEMIHL I (1891: 191 n. 99); WILAMOWITZ (1924: 230 n. 1).

³¹ For the various solutions see ROSTAGNI II 2 (1956: 55-56).

³² Pace ROSTAGNI loc. cit., whose arguments do not convince.

³³ Contra ROSTAGNI II 2 (1956: 53). Tiberius is said to have imitated Parthenius in his poems, cf. SUET. Tib. 70,2. This may have given rise to the wrong date, cf. MEINEKE (1843: 257).

³⁴ Cf. on him FUNAIOLI (1912: 2155-2156).

(4) It is very likely that the fragment belongs to H. of Berytus³⁵, who is often quoted for a learned variant. As the inscriptions from Erythrae and Pausanias show, interest in the cult of the Erythraean Sibyl seems to have revived in the 2nd century A.D.³⁶ Although the work from which it is taken is not mentioned, it would conveniently fit into H.s book on dreams, which also included some remarks on oracles (T 5). However, since literary interest in the Erythraean Sibyl can be traced back as far as Heraclides Ponticus³⁷, the possibility cannot be completely ruled out that the reference is to H. of Smyrna³⁸.

(5) H. is quoted for a variant in the spelling of Ravenna³⁹. Since the fragment is devoid of any context, the attribution to a certain work is impossible. If it is derived from Orus (cf. F 1), it may be thought—despite its content—to have been taken from H.s biographies. Perhaps H. spoke about some celebrity from Ravenna. However, F 6 suggests that H. also wrote some etymological treatise.

(6) Again H. is quoted for a variant in spelling (δρύτη instead of δροῖτη⁴⁰), which he seems to have justified with some nonsensical etymological explanation⁴¹. Although the origin of the material remains uncertain, it points strongly to some independent etymological treatise or commentary.

³⁵ Cf. MAASS (1879: 28); MÜLLER, *FHG* III, p. 35.

³⁶ PAUS. 10,12,7: Ἐρυθραῖοι δέ – ἀμφισβητοῦσι γὰρ τῆς Ἡροφίλης προθυμότατα Ελλήνων Κάρουκόν τε καλούμενον ὄρος καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄρει σπήλαιον ἀποφαίνουσι, τεχθῆναι τὴν Ἡροφίλην ἐν αὐτῷ λέγοντες. Θεοδάρου δὲ ἐπίχωρίου ποιμένος καὶ νύμφης πατᾶδα εἶναι. Inscr. Erythr. 224 (epigram at the sanctuary of the sibyl): ή Φοίβου [π]ρόπολος χρησηγόρος εἰμὶ Σιβυλλα || νύμφης Ναΐάδος πρεσβυγενῆς θυγάτηρ || πατρὶς δ' οὐκ ἄλλῃ μούνη δέ μοι ἔστιν Ἐρυθραί || καὶ Θεοδώρως ἐψυ θνητὸς ἐμοὶ γενέτης. Inscr. Erythr. 226 (statues of the Nais and the Sibyl): ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ νύμφη Ναῖς· Σιβυλλα νύμφης καὶ Θεοδώρων [Ἐ]ρυθραία.

³⁷ HERACLIDES F 130 WEHRLI VII; on the Erythraean Sibyl and Sibyls in general see SITTIG (1912: 1103-1104); PARKE (1988: 25ff); SCHRÖDER (1990: 192-194).

³⁸ Cf. ENGELMANN – MERKELBACH ad Inscr. Erythr. 224,4, II p. 381; PARKE (1988: 122 n. 15). Although H. of Smyrna is known to have written on the Magi, WEHRLI does not include F 4 under his fragments.

³⁹ The form Πούενναν can hardly be right. Probably H. wrote Παούενναν. Although Latin *v* is sometimes simply transcribed by Greek *v* (instead of *ov*), cf. THREATTÉ (1980: 442-447) for the diverse transcriptions, there is no parallel for the sequence οὐε = οὐε.

⁴⁰ On the etymology of δροῖτη cf. FRISK s.v.

⁴¹ WACKERNAGEL (1916: 187 n. 1): "Aber allein δροῖτη ist alt beglaubigt. (...) Die Form δρύτη wird einzig aus Hermippus zitiert, der daran die Herleitung aus δρῦς knüpfte (...). Damit ist wohl der unter Hadrian lebende Berytier gemeint. In dessen Zeit sprach der gemeine Mann natürlich δρύτη, mit der seit dem II. Jahrhundert v.Chr. nachweisbaren Ersetzung von οἱ durch ν, und diese vulgäre Aussprache benützte Hermipp als Handhabe für etymologische Künste."

(7) It is very doubtful whether the fragment should be attributed to H. of Berytus. Perhaps Clement mistook him for his namesake, H. of Smyrna, who mentioned Chiron in his Φαινόμενα⁴².

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⁴² Cf. SH 484-490; especially 488 (= SCHOL. ARAT. 436 p. 278,8-14 MARTIN).

1062. Soranus of Ephesus

(1st half 2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 SUDA σ 851 s.v. Σωρανός, Μενάνδρου καὶ Φοίβης, Ἐφέσιος, ιατρός, διατρίψας ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ δὲ ιατρεύσας ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τῶν βασιλέων βιβλία τε συντάξας πλεῖστα καὶ κάλλιστα.

2 SUDA σ 852 s.v. Σωρανός, Ἐφέσιος, ιατρὸς νεώτερος. Γυναικεῖα βιβλία δ',
5 Βίους ιατρῶν καὶ αἰρέσεις καὶ συντάγματα βιβλία ι' καὶ ἄλλα διάφορα.

F

BIOI (ΔΙΑΔΟΧΑΙ?) IATΡΩΝ

1 SCHOL. (R²) ORIBAS. 44,14,1 p. 132 RAEDEER III: Διονύσιον τὸν κυρτόν] ὁ Φίλων ἐν τῷ θ' Περὶ βιβλιοθήκης κτῆσεως (1060 F 52 b) καὶ Ἐρμιππος ἐν τῷ ε' Περὶ τῶν διὰ παιδείαν ὑμνηθέντων [ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν] ιατρῶν (1061 T 4) καὶ ὁ Σωρανὸς ἐν ταῖς Τῶν ιατρῶν διαδοχαῖς φασιν, ὅτι καὶ ὁξυτόνως εἴρηται 10 κυρτός, ὡς φοξός, διὰ σωματικὴν ἀσθένειαν, βαρυτόνως δέ, ὡς ἵππος, πύργος, ἐπεὶ ἐκ μεσογαίου πόλεως τῆς Αἰγύπτου λεγομένης Κύρτου ύπηρχεν, ἦ, ὡς φασί τινες, διὰ τὸ ἀλίσκεσθαι τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας <ὑπ’> αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ τοὺς ιχθύς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλιευτικῶν κύρτων.

2 VITA HIPPOCRATIS (CMG IV, p. 175-178): Ἰπποκράτους Γένος καὶ Βίος
15 κατὰ Σωρανόν: (1) Ἰπποκράτης γένει μὲν ἦν Κῷος, νιὸς Ἡρακλείδα καὶ Φαιναρέτης, εἰς Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν τὸ γένος ἀναφέρων, ἀφ' οὐ μὲν εἰκοστός, ἀφ' οὐ δὲ ἐννεακαιδέκατος, μνημονεύει δὲ τῆς γενεαλογίας αὐτοῦ Ἐρατοσθένης (241 F 13) καὶ Φερεκύδης (3 F 59) καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος (244 F

1062. Soranus of Ephesus

(1st half 2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 Soranus, son of Menander and Phoebe, of Ephesus, physician, living in Alexandria and practising in Rome under the Emperors Trajan and Hadrian, author of many excellent books.

2 Soranus, of Ephesus, a younger physician. Four books *On Female Disorders*, ten books *On Lives, Schools, and Writings of Physicians*, and various other works.

F

LIVES (SUCCESSIONS) OF PHYSICIANS

1 Dionysius, the *kyrtós*] Philo in the ninth book of his *On the Acquisition of a Library*, Hermippus in the fifth book of his *On Famous Physicians Honoured on Account of Their Learning*, and Soranus in his *Succession of Physicians* say that *kyrtos* is pronounced both oxytone (*sc. kyrtós*, meaning hunchbacked) like *foxós* (*i.e.* sugarloaf-headed), because it signifies a bodily weakness, and barytone like *hippos*, *pýrgos*, because it is derived from an Egyptian inland town called *Kýrtos*, or as some say, because those speaking against him (*sc. Dionysius*) were caught by him like fish in fishing nets (*i.e. kýrtoi*).

2 Family and Life of Hippocrates According to Soranus: (1) Hippocrates was Coan by origin, the son of Heraclides and Phaenarete. He traced his family back to Heracles and Asclepius, being the twentieth in line of descent from the former, the nineteenth from the latter. His family tree is mentioned by Eratosthenes, Pherecydes, Apollodorus, and Arius of Tarsus. (2) He was

⁷ Ἐρμιππος *edd.* : ἔρμηππος *cod.* ⁸ παιδείαν *edd.* : παιδίαν *cod.* || ὑμνηθέντων Cröner in exemplari suo : σεμνηθ- *cod.* || ἐνδόξων *edd.* : εὐδόξων *cod.* || ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν *delevi* ¹² ὑπ’ *suppl.* Daremberg ¹³ κύρτων *edd.* : κυρτῶν *cod.*

73) καὶ Ἀρειος ὁ Ταρσεύς. (2) μαθητής δὲ γέγονεν Ἡρακλείδα τοῦ πατρός,
 20 εἶτα Ἡροδίου, κατὰ δέ τινας καὶ Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου ρήτορος, φιλοσόφου
 δὲ Δημοκρίτου <τοῦ> Ἀβδηρίτου. (3) κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Πελοποννησιακοὺς
 ἦκμασε χρόνους, γεννηθείς, ὡς φησιν Ἰσχόμαχος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τῆς
 25 Ἰπποκράτους αἰρέσεως (1058 F 1), κατὰ τὸ πρώτον ἔτος τῆς ὀγδοκοστῆς
 ὀλυμπιάδος, ὡς δὲ Σωρανὸς ὁ Κῷος ἐρευνήσας τὰ ἐν Κῷ γραμματοφυλακεῖα
 προστίθησι, μοναρχοῦντος Ἀβριάδα, μηνὸς Ἀγριανίου ἑβδόμη καὶ εἰκοστῇ,
 παρ' ὅ καὶ ἐναγίζειν ἐν αὐτῇ μέχρι νῦν Ἰπποκράτει φησὶ τοὺς Κῷους. (4) συν-
 30 ασκηθεὶς δὲ ἐν τῇ ιατρικῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μαθήμασι τῶν γονέων
 αὐτοῦ τελευτησάντων μετέστη τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς μὲν κακοήθως Ἀνδρέας φησὶν
 ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς ιατρικῆς γενεαλογίας, διὰ τὸ ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ ἐν Κνίδῳ
 γραμματοφυλακεῖον· ἄλλοι δέ φασιν, ὅτι προθέσει τοῦ τὰ κατὰ τόπους
 35 ἀποτελούμενα θεάσασθαι καὶ συγγυμνασθῆναι ποικιλάτερον· ὡς δὲ Σωρανὸς
 ὁ Κῷος ίστορεῖ, ὄνειρος αὐτῷ παρέστη κελεύων τὴν Θεσσαλῶν γῆν κατοικεῖν.
 (5) τὴν δὲ σύμπασαν Ἐλλάδα θεραπεύων ἐθαυμάσθη, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ Περδίκκα
 40 τοῦ Μακεδόνων βασιλέως φιτισικοῦ νομισθέντος παρακληθέντα δημοσίᾳ πρὸς
 αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν μετ' Εύρυφῶντος, ὃς καθ' ἡλικίαν πρεσβύτερος ἦν αὐτοῦ, καὶ
 σημειώσασθαι ψυχῆς εἶναι τὸ πάθος. ἥρα γάρ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς
 Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατον Φίλας τῆς παλλακίδος αὐτοῦ, πρὸς ἦν δηλώσαντα τὸ
 45 γεγονός, ἐπειδὴ παρεφύλαξεν ταύτης βλεπομένης παντελῶς ἐκείνον
 τρέπεσθαι, λῦσαι μὲν τὴν νόσον, ἀνακτήσασθαι δὲ τὸν βασιλέα. (6) παρ-
 εκλήθη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀβδηριτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν καὶ Δημόκριτον μὲν ὡς
 ἐν μανίᾳ θεραπεῦσαι, ρύσασθαι δὲ λοιμοῦ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην. (7) ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν
 Ιλλυριῶν καὶ Παιόνων βαρβάρων γῆν λοιμοῦ κατασκήψαντος καὶ δεομένων
 τῶν ἐκεῖ βασιλέων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν, παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων τίνα ἦν ἐκεῖ τὰ
 πολλὰ τῶν πνευμάτων μαθὼν ἐκείνους μὲν ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψε,
 50 συλλογισάμενος δὲ τὴν νόσον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἥξειν, προειπὼν τὸ
 γενησόμενον καὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν ἐπεμελήθη. (8) τοσοῦτον δὲ
 φιλέλλην ὑπῆρχεν, ὥστε τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ μέχρι Περσῶν διαπύστου γενομένης

taught by his father Heraclides, then by Herodicus, according to some also by the rhetor Gorgias of Leontinoi, and by the philosopher Democritus of Abdera. (3) He flourished during the times of the Peloponnesian war, and was born, as Ischomachus says in his first book *On the School of Hippocrates*, in the first year of the 80th Olympiad, when, as Soranus of Cos adds, who looked through the Coan archives, Abriadas was *monarchos*, on the 27th day of the month of Agrianus. This is also the reason, he says, why the Coans offer sacrifices to Hippocrates on this day up to the present time. (4) When he had completed his training in medicine and his general education and his parents had died, he left his native country, as Andreas maliciously remarks in his book *On the Descent of Medicine*, because he had burnt the archive in Cnidus. Others say it was because he wanted to see how things were done elsewhere and to broaden his experience. But Soranus of Cos tells us that Hippocrates had a dream, which told him to settle in Thessaly. (5) Tending to the whole of Greece he won so much admiration that he was also sent for by Perdiccas, the Macedonian king, who was thought to suffer from consumption, and he went to him on an official mission together with Euryphon, who was his elder. And he made the diagnosis that the illness was psychical, because after the death of his father Alexander Perdiccas had fallen in love with his mistress Phila. After he had watched Perdiccas completely change colour at the sight of her, he explained to her what had happened, and thus cured the disease and revived the king. (6) And he was summoned by the Abderites to come to them and treat Democritus who was thought to be mad, and to save their entire city from the plague. (7) But when a plague struck the land of the Illyrian and Paeonian barbarians and the local kings asked him to come to them, he first learned from the ambassadors what kind of wind was predominant in the region and then sent them away without success. Concluding that the disease would reach Attica, he predicted what was going to happen and took care of the cities and his pupils. (8) His philhellenism was such that, when his fame reached the Per-

¹⁹ ιδίου adiec. *M²* in marg., post τοῦ rec. (RUEHβFIJ) ²¹ τοῦ suppl. Westermann : om. codd. ²² Ἰσχόμαχος C. Keil : ιστόμ- codd. ²⁴ ἐρευνήσας MRUEBF : ἀνερευνήσας HJ ²⁵ Ἀγριανίου C.F. Herrmann : Ἀγριανοῦ codd. ²⁸ ιδίας adiec. *M²* in marg., post τῆς rec. ³⁰⁻³¹ τοῦ τὰ κατὰ τόπους ἀποτελ- edd. : τοῦ κατὰ τόπους τὰ ἀποτελ- codd., Ilberg ³⁷⁻³⁸ τὸ γεγονός *M²* : τὸ γένος *M*, rec. ⁴⁰ Ἀβδηριτῶν *M* : τῶν Ἀβδ- *M²*, rec. || πρὸς *M* : ὡς rec. ⁴² Παιόνων edd. : πλειόνων codd. ⁴⁷ ὑπῆρχεν rec. : ὑπῆρξεν *M*

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο [παρὰ] Ἀρταξέρξου διὰ Υστάνους τοῦ Ἐλλησποντίων ὑπάρχου
έπι μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς δεομένου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, διὰ τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ
50 ἀφιλάργυρον καὶ φιλοίκειον ἀρνήσασθαι, ως καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἐπιστολῆς δηλοῦται. (9) ἔρρυσατο δὲ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πατρίδα πολεμεῖσθαι
μέλλουσαν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, Θεσσαλῶν δεηθεῖς ἐπιβοηθῆσαι. (10) διὸ καὶ
λαμπρῶν ἔτυχε τιμῶν παρὰ Κύροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ Θεσσαλοῖς καὶ Ἀργείοις καὶ
55 Ἀθηναίοις, οἵτινες καὶ δεύτερον αὐτὸν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους δημοσίᾳ τοῖς
Ἐλευσινίοις ἐμύησαν καὶ πολίτην ἔγραψαν καὶ τὴν ἐν πρυτανείῳ σίτησιν
ἔδοσαν εἰς ἐκγόνους. ἀφθόνως δὲ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ἐδίδασκε τὴν τέχνην μετὰ
τοῦ προσήκοντος Ὀρκου. (11) ἐτελεύτα δὲ παρὰ Λαρισσαίοις, ὅτε καὶ
60 Δημόκριτος φέρεται τελευτήσας, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνενήκοντα ἔτῶν, οἱ δὲ
όγδοηκοντα πέντε φασίν, ἄλλοι ἐκατὸν τεσσάρων, τινὲς ἐκατὸν ἐννέα.
τέθαπται δὲ μεταξὺ Γυρτώνος καὶ Λαρίστης, καὶ δείκνυται ἕχρι δεῦρο τὸ
μνῆμα, ἐν φέρεται τελευτήσας, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνενήκοντα ἔτῶν, οἱ δὲ μεταξὺ
65 Δημόκριτος φέρεται τελευτήσας, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνενήκοντα ἔτῶν, οἱ δὲ
όγδοηκοντα πέντε φασίν, ἄλλοι ἐκατὸν τεσσάρων, τινὲς ἐκατὸν ἐννέα.
καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν δι' εὐπρέπειαν, ἐπεὶ φαλακρὸς ἦν, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῆς
70 κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ δι' ἔμφασιν τοῦ δεῖν τὸ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ χωρίον φρουρεῖν, οἱ δὲ
τοῦ φιλαποδήμου τεκμήριον, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν ἀσαφείας, οἱ δὲ
πρὸς παράστασιν τοῦ δεῖν κάνων φυλάσσεσθαι τὰ βλάπτοντα, τινὲς
75 δὲ διὰ τοῦτον ἀποφίνασθαι, διὰ τὸ πολλὰς αἰτίας ἐπισκοτεῖν τῇ κρίσει, πρῶτον
τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, δεύτερον τὸ δύνασθαι τὸν χαρακτῆρα τῆς φράσεως τηρῆσαι,
τρίτον διὰ τὸ ἔνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ποτὲ μὲν ρώμαλεώτερον, ἄλλοτε
ἀσθενέστερον διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν συγγράφειν. καὶ ἄλλας δὲ αἰτίας ἔστιν εἰπεῖν.
(14) ἀφιλάργυρος δὲ καὶ τοῖς τρόποις σεμνὸς καὶ φιλέλλην ὑπῆρχεν, οὗτοι καὶ
τοὺς ὄμοιοθεντεῖς ἐθεράπευε συμπάσῃ σπουδῇ, ως καὶ λοιμῶν ὄλας ῥύσασθαι

⁴⁸ παρὰ *M et rec.*, om. β : καὶ τοῦ in ras. *F* || Υστάνους *Iliberg coll. Hippocr.* IX 316, 318
L : Υστάνιδος *codd.* ⁵³ παρὰ Κύροις *codd.* : οὐ παρὰ Κύροις μόνον *Westermann* ⁶¹ μελισσῶν
rec. : om. *M* ⁶⁵ εὐπρέπειαν *rec.* : εὐπρέπεις *M* ⁶⁶ φρουρεῖν *MR* : τηρεῖν *ceteri* : ζητεῖν
J (in mg. manu rec. γρ. τηρεῖν) ⁷² ἐπισκοτεῖν *UEBR²F²J* : ἐπισκοπεῖν *MRHFIJ* ⁷⁵ μετὰ
τούτων post αἰτίας inser. *rec.* : om. *M* || ἔστιν *M²F²* : om. *codd.*

sians, and Artaxerxes consequently asked him to come through Hystanes, the satrap of the Hellespont, and promised great gifts, his dignity, indifference to money, and love of home made him decline the invitation, as is also shown by his letter to him. (9) And he saved his own country, which was about to be attacked by the Athenians, by asking for help from the Thessalians. (10) This is the reason why he received magnificent honours not only from the Coans, but also from the Thessalians, Argives, and the Athenians, who publicly initiated him as the second person after Heracles into the Eleusinian mysteries, made him a citizen, and accorded to him and his descendants the right to dine in the Prytaneion. Ungrudgingly he instructed his friends in his art under the condition of the proper oath. (11) He died at Larissa, at the same time as Democritus is reported to have died. He is variously said to have reached the age of 90, 85, 104, and 109 years. He is buried between Gyrton and Larissa, and his grave is pointed out right up to the present time. For a long time a swarm of bees dwelt in it, producing honey, and with this the nurses anointed, at the tomb, infants suffering from thrush, and in this way easily freed them of the disease. (12) He is portrayed on most pictures with his head covered, according to some with a cap, as a sign of his noble birth, like Ulysses, according to others with his cloak. And of these some say he did it because he wanted to look well, since he was bald, some because of the weakness of his head, others because he wanted to emphasize that one must watch the place of the governing part, others think it to be a sign that he liked to travel, others think it expresses the obscurity in his writings, others think it presents the necessity to take precautions against damaging influences even in the state of healthiness, some because in surgery he used to gather his flowing cloak and put it on his head to keep his hands free. (13) There is much disagreement about his writings, and various opinions are put forward. It is therefore not easy to express a clear view in this matter, because many factors cloud any judgement: First, the name; then, the difficulty of recognizing the character of his style, thirdly, that the same man sometimes writes with more, sometimes with less, energy because of his age. And one could adduce other reasons as well. (14) He was indifferent towards money, noble in character, and a philhellene, because he treated his people with all his energy, to the extent that he even saved entire

πόλεις, ὅθεν καὶ λαμπρῶν ἔτυχε τιμῶν οὐ παρὰ Κώφις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀργείοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις. (15) παῖδας δὲ κατέλιπε δύο, Θεσσαλὸν καὶ
80 Δράκοντα καὶ μαθητὰς παμπληθεῖς, ἐπιφανεστάτους δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας.

3 TZETZ. *Chil.* 7, 936-981:

οὗτος ὁ Κώφος ιατρός, ὁ μέγας Ἰπποκράτης
πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Ἡρακλειδᾶ, μητρὸς δὲ Φαιναρέτης,
τελῶν ἐπτακαιδέκατος Ἀσκληπιοῦ σπερμάτων.
μετὰ γὰρ Τροίας ἄλλων ἐν τῇ περαιᾷ Ῥόδου
[940] ὁ Ποδαλείριος νιός Ἀσκληπιοῦ ὑπάρχων
Ἴππολοχον ἐγέννησεν, οὐ Σώστρατος ἐξέφυ,
οὐ Δάρδανος, οὐ Κρίσαμις, οὐπερ Κλεομυττάδης,
οὐπερ νιός Θεόδωρος, τοῦ δὲ Σώστρατος ἄλλος,
90 οὐπερ Σωστράτου Κρίσαμις ὁ δεύτερος ἐξέφυ.
Κρισάμιδος Θεόδωρος δεύτερος πάλιν ἔφυ.
ἐκ Θεοδώρου τούτου δὲ ὁ Σώστρατος ὁ τρίτος,
οὐ Νέβρος, οὐ Γνωσίδικος, ἐξ οὐπερ Ἰπποκράτης·
τοῦ πρώτου Ἰπποκράτους δὲ νιόν τοῦ Γνωσιδίκου
95 παῖς <οὗτος> ἦν Ἡρακλειδᾶς, οὐπερ καὶ Φαιναρέτης
[950] ὁ μέγας, ὁ καὶ δεύτερος, γέγονεν Ἰπποκράτης.
ον ὁ πατὴρ Ἡρακλειδᾶς τὰ ιατρῶν διδάσκει·
ο ἐκ τῆς Σηλυβρίας τε Ἡρόδικος σὺν τούτῳ,
Γοργίας Λεοντίνος δὲ τὴν τέχνην τῶν ρήτορων
100 φιλοσοφίαν μετ' αὐτοὺς Δημόκριτος ἐκεῖνος.
ἐν Κῷ βιβλιοφύλαξ δὲ δειχθεὶς ὁ Ἰπποκράτης,
τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν ιατρῶν ἐνέπρησε βιβλία
καὶ τὸ βιβλοφυλάκιον. δι' ὁ φυγὼν ἐκεῖθεν
ἐν Ἦδωνοῖς διέτριψεν, Ἑλλάδι, Θετταλίᾳ,
105 τῷ Ἀρταξέρξῃ σύγχρονος ὑπάρχων καὶ Περδίκκᾳ.
νιοὶ τοῦ Ἰπποκράτους δὲ ὁ Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Δράκων·
οὓς καὶ τὸν Πραξαγόραν δὲ τὸν Κῷον καὶ ἐτέρους

cities from the plague. He therefore received magnificent honours not only from the Coans, but also from the Argives and Athenians. (15) He left behind two sons, Thessalus and Dracon, and very many students, the most notable of whom were his own sons.

3 This Coan physician, the great Hippocrates had Heraclides as father, Phaenarete as mother being the seventeenth descendant of Asclepius. After the capture of Troy, in the Rhodian Peraea Podalirius, Asclepius' son, fathered Hippolochus, Hippolochus fathered Sostratus, Sostratus Dardanus, Dardanus Crisamis, Crisamis Cleomyttales, Cleomyttales Theodorus, Theodorus another Sostratus, Sostratus Crisamis II., Crisamis in turn Theodorus II., this Theodorus Sostratus III., who fathered Nebrus, Nebrus Gnosidicus, Gnosidicus Hippocrates. Son of this Hippocrates I., son of Gnosidicus, was Heraclides. He and Phaenarete were the parents of the great Hippocrates, also called Hippocrates II. He was instructed in the medical art by his father Heraclides and by Herodicus of Selymbria. Gorgias of Leontinoi taught him rhetoric, after them the famous Democritus taught him philosophy. Having been appointed keeper of the archives in Cos Hippocrates burnt the ancient medical books and the library. For this reason he fled from this place, and lived amongst the Edonians, in Greece and Thessaly, being a contemporary of Artaxerxes and Perdiccas. Hippocrates' sons were Thessalus and Dracon. He instructed them and Praxagoras of Cos and others

⁷⁸ καθάπερ εἰρηται adiec. *M*² in marg., post πόλεις recd. : om. *M* ⁷⁹ § 14 ex superioribus §§ 6-10 conflatum videtur a redactore, del. Ilberg || θανὼν adiec. *M*² in marg., post κατέλιπε recd. : om. *M* ⁸⁰ λέγεται γενέσθαι post παῖδας adiec. *M*², recd. : om. *M* ⁹⁵ οὗτος hoc loco inser. G. Kloss, post Ἡρακλειδᾶς Höger

ιατρικῶν ἐδίδαξεν. ἔγραψε δὲ βιβλία
τρία τε καὶ πεντήκοντα. εἶτα καὶ τελευτᾶ δὲ
110 ἑτῶν ὑπάρχων ἑκατὸν ὁμοῦ τε καὶ τεσσάρων.
[965] Θανὼν ἐτάφη μέσον δὲ Λαρίσσης καὶ Γυρτῶνος.
ἐπτὰ τοὺς Ἰπποκράτεις δὲ γίνωσκε πεφυκέναι·
τὸν Γνωσιδίκου πρῶτον μέν, Ἡρακλειδᾶ δεύτερον,
τὸν Θετταλοῦ, τὸν Δράκοντος, δόνο νίονς Θυμβραίου,
105 καὶ τὸν τοῦ Πραξιάνακτος ἔβδομον Ἰπποκράτην.
[970] Ἐπτὰ οἱ Ἰπποκράτεις μέν. οὗτος δ' ἔζωγραφεῖτο
σκέπων αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τῷ ἴματίῳ.
τέσσαρας τὰς αἰτίας δὲ τούτου φασὶν ὑπάρχειν·
ἢ γὰρ ἀλγῶν τὴν κεφαλήν, ἢ ὡς τῶν ἀποδήμων,
110 ἢ ὡς δεικνύς τοῦ λογισμοῦ ὅργανον ταύτην εἶναι,
[975] ἢ πῶς ἐν χειρουργίαις δὲ χρὴ κεφαλὰς καλύπτειν.
τοῦτο ἐποίει ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ οὕτω ζωγραφεῖται.
κακῶς τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν ἐμπειρικὸν τὸν ἄνδρα.
ἔξ Έφεσίου Σωρανοῦ τὰ Ἰπποκράτους ἔφην.
115 δος Ἰπποκράτης ιατρός Ἡρακλειδᾶ ὁ Κώος,
[980] ἔλεγε, ἔγνωμάτευε τῶν ιατρῶν τὰ γένη
ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίαις ξυμφοραῖς ιδίας τρυγᾶν λύπας.

4 VITA HIPPOCRATIS BRUXELL.: Hippocratis genus, vita, dogma: (1) Hippocrates fuit genere Cous a Heraclide filius ex Phaenareta ortus ab Asclepia stirpe. (2) Asclepion enim ex Epiona Herculis filia duo sunt creati successus Podalirius et Machaon. quorum Machaon, ut plurimi tradunt, Troiae excidio vitam finivit nulla subole derelicta, Podalirius vero Sirnac consistens Rhodi defecit, ut Antimachus memorat in <...> Thebaidos (F 150 Wyss), filios nactus duos, Rhodonem et Hippolochum, ex Iphianassa Ucaleontis filia. Hippolochus creator Apollonius, Sostratus; huic Dardanus et Cynno, Dardano Ablavias et Crisamis; Crisamidi Ablavias <et

in medicine. He wrote 53 books.
And then he died
at the age of 104 years.
After his death he was buried between Larissa and Gyrton.
Note that there were seven Hippocrates!
First, the son of Gnosidicus, second, the son of Heraclides
next the son of Thessalus, the son of Dracon, and the two sons of
Thymbræus,
number seven is Hippocrates, the son of Praxianax.
Seven Hippocrates there were. But this one
was portrayed covering his head with his cloak.
There are, they say, four reasons for this:
Either because he had a pain in his head, or because he was a traveller,
or because he wanted to show that the head is the organ of reasoning,
or how one has to cover one's head in surgery.
That is what the man did and that is how he is pictured.
Some mistakenly call him an Empiric.
My source for what I have said about Hippocrates is Soranus of Ephesus.
The physician Hippocrates of Cos, son of Heraclides,
put forward the maxim that the Order of Physicians
shall make other people's sufferings their own.

4 (1) *Family, Life, and Doctrine of Hippocrates:* (1) Hippocrates was Coan by origin, the son of Heraclides and Phaenarete, born of Asclepian stock. (2) For Asclepius had two sons by Epione, the daughter of Heracles, Podalirius and Machaon. Of these two, Machaon died, as most tell us, during the fall of Troy, leaving no offspring, but Podalirius stayed and died at the Rhodian Syrna, as Antimachus mentions in the <...> book of his *Thebais*, after he had begotten two sons, Rhodon and Hippolochus by Iphianassa, the daughter of Ucalegon. Hippolochus was the father of Apollonius and Sostratus. To Sostratus were born Dardanus and Cynno, to Dardanus Ablavias and Crisamis, to Crisamis Ablavias <and Cleomyttadas> who came to Tricca.

116 ἔλεγε codd. : ἤλεγχεν Kiessling, locus vix sanus 118 Hippocr- : Yppocrat- semper fol. 52^r.
53^v (A) 119 Heraclide : Er- A || Phaenareta : Finerata A 120 Epiona Schöne : Epionab A 121 Machaon : Macaon semper A 122 Sirnae Schöne : Sime A 123 in <I> Thebaidos scripti numero exempli gratia inserto : in Thenito A 124 filios nactus Schöne : filistactus A || Rhodonem : Rodonem A || Hippolochum : Hippolochon A 124-125 Ifianassa Ucaleontis distinxit Schöne : Ifiana sauca flegontis A || Hippolocho : Ipp- A || Apollonius : App- A 126 Cynno : Cimno A || Ablavias² scripti : adagibas A

Cleomyttaes>, qui venerunt Triccam.<...> (3) item Thessalus de Hippocratis liberorum honoribus corrigens Apollodori dicta talibus aliisque usus est demonstrationibus. (4) filios reliquit Hippocrates duos ex Ablavia uxore sua, Thessalum et Draconem. (5) discipulos habuit plurimos quippe veluti primus medicinae conscriptor. quorum nobiles atque digne gloriosos Draconem et Thessalum suos filios imbuīt prudentia medicinae; item Polybium, et Phili<sti>onem, Dexippum, Apollonium, Praxagoram seniorem; item Coos multos, Coorum domesticos ac plurimum suos, Archeopolim, Thymbraeum, Timolycum, Menalam, Syennesim, Polyarchum et Bonum. (6) traditur autem ceteris corporibus Hippocratem fuisse minorem, capite tamen delicato; aiunt denique ob hoc velato semper incessisse capite; sic etiam plurimas eius imagines inveniri depictas. alii dicunt, quod caput in nobis senserit esse omnium partium principale et hoc ostentaverit demonstrans. alii dicunt, quod ob chirurgiae officium accelerandum, ut impedimento submoto facilius manus operentur, comprehendens vestium summitem, hoc est manicas, quadam inversione conducens capiti imponendam ostenderit. (7) senectutem autem superatus et, ut aiunt, anno centesimo quarto vitam finivit apud Larissam Thessaliae civitatem, est sepultus inter Gyrtona et Larissam †propter memoriae cultum†. (8) scripsit, ut multi memorant, libros LXX et II. hos ordinavit in Athenis, postquam reversus est a Medis de Ecbatana civitate ab Artaxerxe rege Medorum. eodem tempore accepit septem libros de Memphi civitate, a Polybio, filio Apollonii, quos secum inde portavit et ex his libris suis canonem medicinae recte ordinavit.

quia in suis libris primus est *Liber iuramenti*, quem Graece ὥρκον appellamus.

¹²⁶⁻¹²⁷ et Cleomyttaes *supplevi* e *Tzetz. Chil.* 7,942 ¹²⁷ Triccam *scripsi* : drieam A || lacunam stat. Schöne || Thessalus : Tessalus A ¹²⁸ liberorum *scripsi* : libri A || talibus *scripsi* : tabulis Schöne (*per errorem?*) : alius A ¹³⁰ Draconem : Drag- semper A ¹³³ Polyb- : Polib- semper A || Philistionem *scripsi* : Filionem A || Praxagoram : -gorem A ¹³⁵ Archeopolim : Archi- A || Thymbraeum : Timbreum A || Timolycum : Tumulicum A || Syennesim : Siennesium A || Polyarchum : Poliarchonem A ¹³⁶ Bonum: *nomen vix sanum* || corporibus cod. : *fortasse* corpor-*is part>*ibus *scriendum cens.* G. Kloss ¹⁴² comprehendens : compreah- A ¹⁴³ capiti imponendam ostenderit Schöne : caput imponenda ostenderem A ¹⁴⁴ post finivit *interpunxit* Schöne || Larissam : Larismum A ¹⁴⁵ civitatem *scripsi* : -tatis A || est sepultus inter Gyrtona et Larissam *scripsi*, cf. VHSS (F 2) 11 : sis sepultus inter Virtonem Larismam A || propter memoriae cultum A : <et> propagatur memoriae cultus G. Kloss, cf. VHSS (F 2) 11 δείκνυται ἄχρι δεῦρο τὸ μνῆμα ¹⁴⁶ post libros LXX et II. *incipit fol. 3'(B)* || hos ord. in Ath. A : quod Hippocrates locutus est in Ath. B ¹⁴⁷ Ecbatana Schöne : Batchana A : Bacthanan B || Artaxerxe : Arfaxad (-th) AB ¹⁴⁸ eodem A : eo autem B || Memphi : -fis A : -fi B ¹⁴⁹ inde A : inde in Choum B || suis A : om. B ¹⁵¹ quia ... quem A : ab hoc primum inventum est iuramentum Ypocratis, quod B || Graece : Grece AB || ὥρκον : orcon A : orchon B

<...> (3) Correcting Apollodorus' account Thessalus likewise used in his book *On the Honours of Hippocrates' Sons* such proofs as theses and other ones as well. (4) Hippocrates left two sons by his wife Ablavias, Thessalus and Dracon. (5) He had very many pupils as he was, so to speak, the first medical writer. Amongst them were his two noble and justly renowned sons Dracon and Thessalus, whom he instructed in the skill of medicine, as he did Polybius and Phili<sti>on, Dexippus, Apollonius, the elder Praxagoras, and many Coans and Coan slaves, especially his own, Archeopolis, Thymbraeus, Timolycus, Menalus?, Syenessis, Polyarchus, and Bonus. (6) It is told that Hippocrates had a rather small figure, and especially a weak head. At least they say that this was the reason why he went about with his head covered, and that most of his portraits would picture him in this manner, too. Others say it was because he thought the head to be the leading part of the body and showed this by demonstration. Others say that he gathered the borders of his clothing, i.e. the sleeves, and joined them by some inward twist to speed his surgery so that his hands were unimpeded and could work easier, and thus showed that they should be put on the head. (7) He outlived old age and died, as they say, in his 104th year in the vicinity of the Thessalian state Larissa. He is buried between Gyrtion and Larissa †to revere his memory†. (8) He wrote, as many record, 72 books: These he arranged at Athens after his return from the Persians from the city Ecbatana, from Artaxerxes, the Persian king. At the same time he received seven books from the city of Memphis, through Polybius, the son of Apollonius. These he brought back with him to Cos and it was from these books that he put the canon of medicine into its proper order.

Amongst his books the first is his *Oath*, which is called in Greek *Horkos*.

sed ex iuramento scripsit in secundis, ut multi memorant, libros quattuor, *De articulis* unum, *De fracturis* unum, et *Prognosticum*, et unum *Regularem*. Sed ut Ischomachus Bithyniensis affirmat, ab eo perscriptum *Regularem* Heraclides
 155 Ephesius adiecit.
 post hunc alios habet ab eo conscriptos sex, quos appellavit Ἐπιδημιῶν,
 post hos *Rationalem*, quem Κατ' ἵητρεῖον appellavit,
 exinde *Aphorismos*,
 acchius autem Herophili sectator comm^{}orat post aphorismos *De infantis natura* fecisse Hippocratem.
 160 post hunc autem *De aquis* unum,
 et *De locorum positione* unum
 exinde Προρρητικόν seu, ut Latini, *Praedictorium* unum,
 et aliud *De praecidendo*,
 165 et *De inflationibus* unum, quem Περὶ φυσῶν appellavit,
 item *Vecticulum*, quem Μοχλικόν appellavit,
 item *De aquis et aere* quem Graece Περὶ ἀέρων καὶ ύδάτων appellavit,
 et *De finibus* unum,
 post hunc *De vulneribus et telorum detractionibus* unum
 170 item *De morbis* duos,
 post hos *De partu* unum
 et <...> unum, id est Διαιτητικόν,
 post hunc *De vulneribus in capite vel ulceribus*,
 item *De haemorrhoidibus*,
 175 post hunc *De fistulis*,

¹⁵² sed ex iuramento A : post iuramentum B || quattuor : IIII AB ¹⁵³ unum¹ A : om.
 B || De fracturis unum A : et de fracturis B || et A : post hoc B || progn- B : pron-
 A || et unum A : exinde B ¹⁵³⁻¹⁵⁴ ut Ischomachus scripsi duce Schöne : Ischomarcus A : ut
 Comarcus B ¹⁵⁴ Bithyniensis : Bitin- A : Bitin- B || Heraclides A : Er- B ¹⁵⁵ Ephes-
 ius : Ef(f)- AB ¹⁵⁶ post ... sex scripsi : post hunc alias ab eo conscriptus sex A : post
 hunc alios habet conscriptos B || Ἐπιδημιῶν : epidimion A : epidemion
 B ¹⁵⁷ rationalem B : stationalem A || Κατ' ἵητρεῖον : catdiatrion A : chatha iatrimon
 B ¹⁵⁸ Aphorismos : af- AB ¹⁵⁹⁻¹⁶⁰ acchius ... Hippocratem B : post hunc y<...>
 A ¹⁵⁹ Bacchius autem Herophili sectator commemorat scripsi duce Schöne : Accius Herofili
 sectatoris commorat B || aphorismos : af- B ¹⁶¹ autem de aquis unum A : de aqu-
 B ¹⁶² De locorum positione unum A : de locis B ¹⁶³ Προρρητικόν : proreticum
 AB || seu ut Latini A : sive ut Latine B || unum A : om. B ¹⁶⁴ et aliud A : itemque
 B ¹⁶⁵ et de inflationibus unum A : exinde de infl- B || Περὶ φυσῶν : perifison A :
 perifison B ¹⁶⁶ item B : om. A || Vecticulum scripsi duce Schöne : becticolum A :
 picticulum B || Μοχλικόν : ochicon A : muclicon B ¹⁶⁷ item ... appellavit B : et de
 locis A || Graece B || Περὶ ἀέρων καὶ ύδάτων : pergeron kaeidaton B ¹⁶⁸ et
 de finibus unum A : et aliud de fin- B ¹⁶⁹ vulneribus scripsi : ulceribus AB || unum
 A : om. B ¹⁷⁰ de morbis duos A : duos de morb- B ¹⁷² lacunam statui || Διαιτητικόν :
 teteticum A : de et teticum B ¹⁷³ in : et AB ¹⁷⁴ haemorrhoidibus scripsi : emorroide
 AB

But after the *Oath* he wrote in second place, as many record, the following four books: one book *On Joints*, one *On Fractures*, one *Prognostic*, one *Regimen*. But as Ischomachus of Bithynia affirms, the *Regimen*, written by him, was added (*sc.* to the canon) by Heraclides of Ephesus.
 After this he wrote six other books, which he called *Epidemics*. After this a theoretical work, which he called *In the Surgery*, then *Aphorisms*, and Bacchius, adherent of Herophilus, tells us that Hippocrates wrote after the *Aphorisms* the book *On the Nature of a Child*.
 After this one book *On Waters*, and one *On the Location of Places*, then one *Prorrhetic*, or in Latin a *Liber praedictorius*, and another *On Abortion*, and one *On Breaths*, which he called *Peri fyson*, a *Vecticulum*, which he called *Mochlikon*, likewise *On Water and Air*, which he called in Greek *Peri aeron kai hydaton*, and one *De finibus*, after this *On Wounds and the Withdrawing of Missiles*. Likewise two *On Diseases*, after these one *On the Birth*, and one <...> that is *Diaitetikon*, after this one *On Wounds in the Head or Sores*, likewise *On Hemorrhoids*, after this *On Fistulas*,

et *De medicaminibus*,
 sequentem *De carcinosis vulneribus*,
 et duos *De gynecia*, id est mulieribus,
De sucis corporum, quem appellavit Περὶ χυμῶν,
 180 et *De fluoribus feminarum*, quos appellavit Περὶ ρῶν γυναικῶν,
 item *De septimanarum numero*, quem appellavit Περὶ ἑβδομάδων,
 item *De partu octo mensium*, quem appellavit Περὶ ὀκτωμηναίων,
 et *De statis ac legitimis in passionibus diebus*, id est criticis,
 item *De veteris medicinae mandatis unum*,
 185 et *De hydropticis unum*,
De cephalargia unum,
De podagricis unum,
De neurotrosis, id est nervis vel musculis incisis unum,
 et *De epilepsia unum*,
 190 et *De semine unum*,
De similitudinibus unum,
De ictericis unum,
De geminis unum,
et De hermaphroditis unum,
 195 *De stomachicis unum*,
De hepaticis unum.

5 SUDA 1 564 s.v. Ἰπποκράτης, Κῶος, ιατρός, Ἡρακλείδου νιός, προτετάχθω
 γὰρ καὶ τοῦ πάππου, τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου πατρός, εἰ καὶ ὄμώνυμος ἦν, διὰ τὸ
 ἀστέρα καὶ φῶς τῆς βιωφελεστάτης ιατρικῆς γενέσθαι. ἀπόγονος δὲ Χρύσου
 200 τοῦνομα καὶ Ἐλάφου, τοῦ ἐκείνου παιδός, ιατρῶν καὶ αὐτῶν. (2) οὗτος
 μαθητὴς γέγονε τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ πατρός, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἡροδίκου τοῦ
 Σηλυβριανοῦ καὶ Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου, ῥήτορος καὶ φιλοσόφου· ὡς δέ τινες
 Δημοκρίτου τοῦ Ἀβδηρίτου, ἐπιβαλεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν νέον πρεσβύτῃ· ὡς δέ τινες
 καὶ Προδίκου. (3) διέτριψε δὲ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, φίλος ὧν σφόδρα τῷ βασιλεῖ
 205 Περδίκκα. (4) παῖδας δὲ σχών δύο, Θεσσαλὸν καὶ Δράκοντα, κατέστρεψε τὸν
 βίον ἐνιαυτῶν γεγονὼς τεσσάρων καὶ ἔκατὸν καὶ τέθαπται ἐν Λαρίσῃ τῆς

and *On Purges*,
 next *On Ulcers*,
 and two *On Gynaecology* that is *On Women*,
On Humours of the Body, which he called *Peri chymon*,
On the Fluxes of Women, which he called *Peri rhon gynaikon*,
 likewise *On the Number Seven*, which he called *Peri hebdomadon*,
 likewise *On the Eight Month's Child*, which he called *Peri oktomenaion*,
 and *On the Fixed and Legitimate Days in Diseases*, that is on critical days
 likewise *On the Precepts of Ancient Medicine*,
 one *On Dropsey*
 one *On Headache*
 one *On Gout*
 one *On Neurotrosis* that is on cut nerves and sinews,
 and one *On Epilepsy*
 and one *On Semen*,
 and one *On Resemblance*
 and one *On Jaundice*
 and one *On Twins*
 and one *On Hermaphrodites*
 and one *On Those Suffering from Weakness of Stomach*
 and one *On Those Suffering from Liver Complaints*.

5 (1) Hippocrates of Cos, physician, son of Heraclides. He shall be placed before his grandfather, the father of Herachlides, even though he had the same name, because he is the star and light of the art of medicine, which is most useful for life. He was a descendant of Chrysus and his son Elaphus, who also were physicians. (2) He was taught first by his father, afterwards by Herodicus of Selymbria and Gorgias of Leontinoi, orator and philosopher. According to some he was taught the old Democritus of Abdera when young, according to some by Prodicus as well. (3) He lived in Macedonia and was a close friend of King Perdiccas. (4) He had two sons, Thessalus and Dracon, died at the age of 104 years and is buried at the Thessalian Larissa.

177 carcinosis Schöne : carnosis AB 178 gynecia : genecia AB 179 Περὶ χυμῶν :
 periūmon AB 180 fluoribus B : flor- A || Περὶ ρῶν γυναικῶν : peri ron gynecon
 AB 181 Περὶ ἑβδομάδων : peri ebdomadon AB 182 Περὶ ὀκτωμηναίων : peri
 octomeneon AB 183 statis Schöne : statu AB || criticis : cret- AB 185 hydropticis : ydr-
 AB 186 de neurotrosis Schöne : benei unum drototis AB 189 epilepsia : epilem(p)sia AB
 194 hermaphroditis : hermaf- AB 195 stomachicis Schöne : stomaticis AB 196 hepaticis :
 ep- AB 203 νέον πρεσβύτη Portus recte, cf. Suda μ 20 (= Magnes, test. I K.-A.); φ 441; Vita
 Pind. Ambr., I p. 2,21 Drachmann : νέῳ πρεσβύτην F

Θετταλίας. (5) ἐν δὲ ταῖς εἰκόσιν ιστορεῖται τὸ ἴμάτιον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναβεβλημένος καὶ σκεπόμενος, ἢ ὅτι τοῦτο ἔθος ἦν αὐτῷ ἢ διὰ τὸ φιλαπόδημον ἢ τὸ ἴδιον ἐν ταῖς χειρουργίαις. (6) οὖντος ἔγραψε πολλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐγένετο διάδηλος ὥστε καὶ τὸν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέα, τὸν καλούμενον Ἀρταξέρξην, γράψαι πρὸς Τστάνην, τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σοφίας δεόμενον· “βασιλεὺς βασιλέων μέγας Ἀρταξέρξης Τστάνη Ἐλλησπόντου ὑπάρχω χαίρειν. Ιπποκράτους ἰητροῦ Κώφου, ἀπὸ Ἀσκληπιοῦ γεγονότος, ἐς ἐμὲ κλέος ἀφίκται τέχνης. δὸς οὖν αὐτῷ χρυσόν, ὁπόσον ἀν δυούληται, καὶ τἄλλα χύδην ὡν σπανίζει, καὶ πέμπε πρὸς ἡμέας. ἔσται γὰρ ισότιμος Περσέων τοῖσιν ἀρίστοισι. καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἔστιν ἀνήρ κατ' Ευρώπην ἀγαθός, φίλον οἴκῳ βασιλέως τίθεσο μὴ φειδόμενος ὅλβου ἄνδρας γὰρ εὐρεῖν δυναμένους τι κατὰ συμβουλίην οὐ ῥάδιον. ἔρρωσο.” αἱ μὲν οὖν γραφεῖσαι παρ’ Ιπποκράτους βίβλοι πᾶσι τοῖς μετερχομένοις τὴν ιατρικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἔκδηλοι· καὶ οὕτως αὐτὰς κατασπάζονται ὡς θεοῦ φωνὰς καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνου προελθούσας ἐκ στόματος. πλὴν τῶν ἐν πρώτοις καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπομνημονεύσωμεν. πρώτη μὲν οὖν βίβλος ἡ τὸν ὄρκον περιέχουσα, δευτέρα δὲ ἡ τὰς προγνώσεις ἐμφαίνουσα, τρίτη ἡ τῶν ἀφορισμῶν ἀνθρωπίνην ὑπερβαίνουσα σύνεσιν. τετάρτην τάξιν ἔχετω ἡ πολυυθρύλητος καὶ πολυθαύμαστος ἔξαβιβλος, ἡ πᾶσαν ιατρικὴν ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ σοφίαν ἐμπεριέχουσα.

²⁰⁹⁻²¹⁰ καὶ πᾶσιν ... βασιλέα om. V ²¹² Τστάνη F : Τστάννι V ²¹⁶ ἀρίστοισι A²F : ἀρίστησιν VM ²²⁴ ἔξαβιβλος scripsi : ἔξηκοντάβιβλος codd.

(5) His images show him covering his head with his cloak thrown up, either because this was his habit, or because he liked to travel, or because this was his custom in surgery. (6) He wrote many things and was a distinguished person. This is the reason why even the king of Persia, called Artaxerxes, wrote to Hystanes, wishing to secure his wisdom: “Artaxerxes, the great king of the kings, greets Hystanes, the satrap of the Hellespont. The fame of the art of the physician Hippocrates of Cos, descendant of Asclepius, has reached me. Give him as much gold as he wants and everything else he needs in abundance, and then send him to me! He will be equal in rank to the noblest of the Persians. And if there is any other good man in Europe, secure his friendship for the royal house, sparing no money! It is not easy to find men capable of giving good advice. Farewell!” The books written by Hippocrates are known to all who are in the medical profession; and they are honoured to such a degree it is as if they were words coming from the mouth of a god, and not from a human. However, we will just give the most important titles. First comes the book containing the *Oath*, second the one giving the *Prognoseis*, third the book of *Aphorisms*, which surpasses human intelligence; the fourth place shall be given to the much celebrated and admired *Hexabiblos*, which contains all medical knowledge and wisdom.

1062. Soranus of Ephesus

(1st half 2nd cent. A.D.)

Introduction

Soranus of Ephesus is one of the main exponents of the so-called Methodical school of physicians founded by Themison (*methodicae medicinae instructissimus auctor*¹). He lived in Alexandria and Rome during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian. S.s interests and oeuvre were immense. He did not limit his studies to the practical problems of medicine, but showed a general interest in everything connected with the history of his science. He therefore belongs to a long tradition of writers on medical history which begins with Menon, the pupil of Aristotle, and reaches down via Alexander Philalethes to Galenus². Most of S.s extensive oeuvre is lost. Out of his medical works only his treatise *γυναικεία βιβλία δ'* survives in the original, while his work *On Acute and Chronic Diseases* has come down to us in a Latin adaptation by Caelius Aurelianus. We have only fragments of his scholarly works, though there is still enough material to give some insight into S.s working method and sources. As far as we can see, S. wrote three works on philosophical and antiquarian issues: First of all there is his book *Περὶ ψυχῆς*, which was used as a main source by Tertullianus in his *De anima*. In fact, all the doxographical data contained in Tertullianus' work seems to derive from it, which enables us to determine S.s position in the doxographical tradition³. On the one hand he used the so-called *Vetusta Placita*, an enlarged Stoic redaction of Theophrastus' *Φυσικῶν δόξων βιβλία* written in the 1st century B.C., which he probably knew in a later Sceptic version; on the other hand he utilized the *Ἀρέσκοντα τοῖς ιατροῖς* of the Alexander Philalethes mentioned above. S.s striking doxographical interest is also shown by his second antiquarian work, an etymological dictionary on the parts of the body (*Περὶ ἐτυμολογιῶν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*), which was used by Orion (1093) and Pollux. Apart from grammarians (Apion, Apollodorus, Aristarchus, Aristonicus, Philoxenus), he also cites several Greek philosophers (Plato, Aristotle, Heraclides Ponticus, Chrysippus) and poets (from Homer to Hellenistic times)⁴. S.s main contri-

¹ TERT. *Anim.* 6,6; CAEL. AURELIAN. *Tard. morb.* 1,50 (*Methodicorum princeps*).

² KIND (1927: 1114).

³ See especially DIELS (1879: 206-213); WASZINK (1947: 29-40*).

⁴ KIND (1927: 1117-1118); WASZINK (1947: 27*).

bution to literary history, however, were the ten books of his *Διαδοχὴ ιατρῶν* in which he described the lives of the physicians, the different schools and their opinions. Although we do not know the structure of this work in detail, its title shows that the leading principle of its arrangement must have been the *διαδοχή*. It was quite comprehensive, in so far as it even included the lives of minor physicians (F 1). It is possible that some of the biographies of physicians contained in the Suda derive from it⁵—as seems to be the case with the life of Hippocrates. Hippocrates' biography allows us to form some general notion about the structure and content of the individual lives, because in his case all extant *vita* seem to go back, in substance at least, to S.s work. In fact, two biographies are even expressly attributed to him: **1)** *The Life of Hippocrates According to Soranus* (VHSS). This is the most detailed biography of Hippocrates we have. Apart from the title its doxographical approach clearly shows that it should be attributed to S.⁶: We are consistently given more than one version throughout, and several authorities are quoted whom S. also mentions elsewhere in his work. However, comparison with the other sources and the structure of the life itself indicate that the VHSS is only an abridged version. Nevertheless, its style is smooth, and only a few hiatus occur⁷. Its language is therefore probably quite similar to that of the original. **2)** *Tzetzes' Life of Hippocrates* (F 3), who quotes S. as his source (978): *ἐξ Ἐφεσίου Σωρανοῦ τὰ Ἰπποκράτους ἔφην*. Although Tzetzes' narrative focuses on matters other than the VHSS—he gives, for instance, a complete genealogy and a list of homonyms—it shows many similarities to it in both content and structure. Tzetzes, however, usually gives only one version, whereas the VHSS often offers alternatives. He says, for example, that Hippocrates died at the age of 104, but omits the other dates. There is only one striking difference: Whereas the VHSS says that Hippocrates' was the twentieth ancestor of Heracles and the nineteenth ancestor of Asclepius, Tzetzes makes him the seventeenth of Asclepius. **3)** *The Brussels Life* (VHB) contained in a manuscript of Theodorus Priscianus (MS 1342-1350) dating to the 12th century. Although the VHB is not attributed explicitly to

⁵ For example the biography of Acron (α 1026); the two Aristogenes (α 3910 and 3911); Archigenes? (α 4107); Dexippus (δ 238); Dioscorides (δ 1206); the Dracones (δ 1497); Erasistratus (ε 2896); the Nicomachi (ν 399); Rufus? (ρ 241); Sallustius (σ 61).

⁶ IFO '1901: 29; KND (1927: 1115); ILBERG (1927: XV); DEICHGRÄBER (1971: 147); PINAULT (1992: 28-33); against EDELSTEIN (1935: 1293-1295); SHERWIN-WHITE (1978: 189).

⁷ ILBERG (1927: XV).

S., it seems to go back to him in substance. It preserves the original only in a mutilated form, and the Latin is sometimes difficult to understand. Most of Hippocrates' life is missing in a lacuna. As we have it, it consists mainly of lists. It starts with a mutilated family tree, then gives a list of Hippocrates' pupils, including Praxagoras (to whom Tzetzes also refers), and finally adds a catalogue of Hippocrates' works numbering 52 or 53, the number also given by Tzetzes. Hippocrates' age at his death is also given as 104. Nevertheless, it also shows some similarities with the VHSS. Most striking are the close verbal parallels. It also quotes several authorities like Antimachus, Thessalus, Apollodorus, Bacchius, Heraclides, and Ischomachus, some of whom also appear in the VHSS. 4) *The Suda's Life of Hippocrates*. Basically it gives the same—though slightly less—information as Tzetzes. Again Hippocrates died at the age of 104. There are, however, some additions taken from Hippocrates' pseudographic writings. The exact interrelation between the individual lives is difficult to determine, because some of the links in the chain are missing. The evidence should perhaps be interpreted as follows: The VHSS clearly stands apart from Tzetzes and the Suda. It not only gives far more information about Hippocrates' life, but it also differs from Tzetzes concerning the number of Hippocrates' ancestors. The most striking difference is that it offers alternatives concerning Hippocrates' age, whereas Tzetzes and the Suda both speak of 104 years. Tzetzes and the Suda therefore seem to belong to a different tradition from that of the VHSS. This tradition is probably to be identified with Hesychius' Ὀνοματολόγος, which the Suda is known to have used in an abridged version⁸. However, Tzetzes offers much more information than the Suda, which seems to indicate that he stands closer to Hesychius than the Suda. He probably used the original version, whereas the Suda used the epitome⁹. The position of the VHB within this stemma is difficult to determine. It is either an independent excerpt from S.s vita¹⁰ or it is dependent on Hesychius. The mutilated state of the text does not admit of any certain conclusion, though there may be some slight evidence in favour of the second alternative. Like Tzetzes and the Suda the VHB states that Hippocrates died at the age of 104 years. Furthermore, in the section about Hippocrates' picture where it seems most complete, the VHB gives only three reasons (the VHSS has eight), the same as Tzetzes and the Suda, as

⁸ HARDER (1886: 66); PINAULT (1992: 34).

⁹ PINAULT (1992: 34).

¹⁰ Thus PINAULT (1992: 34).

to why Hippocrates had his head covered. Maybe this indicates that the VHB is based on Hesychius, who thus seems to have given a slightly abridged account. These four biographies, especially the VHSS, enable us to reconstruct the content and to some extent the structure of S.s *Life of Hippocrates*: (1) Hippocrates' γένεσις, first his name and parents, his genealogy¹¹. Although the VHSS is very brief at this point, it seems likely that S. gave H.s complete family tree. This seems to be suggested by Tzetzes and VHB, who both offer a list of H.s ancestors. (2) Hippocrates' teachers: his father, Herodicus, Gorgias, Democritus¹². (3) Chronology¹³. (4) Hippocrates life¹⁴: (a) His youth in Cos and his departure for Thessaly, having burnt down the library at Cnidus¹⁵; (b) His stay with Perdiccas in Macedonia¹⁶; (c) His visit to Abdera¹⁷; (d) His refusal to cure the Illyrians and Paeonians from the plague¹⁸; (e) His contact with Artaxerxes¹⁹; (f) His assistance to the Coans against Athens²⁰. (5) Hippocrates' honours²¹. (6) Hippocrates' sons and pupils²². Although the VHSS explicitly refers to Hippocrates' sons and pupils only at the end of its account, the parallels between Tzetzes, the Suda and the VHB seem to indicate that this was the original place. The same is also suggested by the short reference in the VHSS to Hippocrates' relatives in § 10 and the double version it offers in § 14 (~9-10) which shows that the sections about honours and sons and pupils belong closely together. It remains uncertain how much information was offered by S. The extensive list of pupils preserved in the VHB may well go back to him, since he was interested in διαδοχοί. Moreover, Praxagoras is also mentioned by Tzetzes. (7) Hippocrates' death, age, and burial place²³. Again the VHSS gives the most comprehensive account. It says that the age of Hippocrates was variously given as 90, 85, 104, or 109 years, whereas Tzetzes, the Suda and the VHB agree that Hippocrates reached the

¹¹ VHSS 1; TZETZ. 936-950; SUDA 1; VHB 1-2.

¹² In the same order VHSS 2; TZETZ. 951-54; SUDA 2.

¹³ VHSS 3.

¹⁴ Here the account of the VHSS is most detailed, Tzetzes and the Suda giving but short notes. It is altogether missing in the VHB.

¹⁵ VHSS 4; TZETZ. 955-957.

¹⁶ VHSS 5; TZETZ. 958; SUDA 3.

¹⁷ VHSS 6.

¹⁸ VHSS 7.

¹⁹ VHSS 8; TZETZ. 959; SUDA 6.

²⁰ VHSS 9.

²¹ VHSS 10; 14; VHB 3.

²² VHSS 10; 15; TZETZ. 960-962; SUDA 4; VHB 4-5.

²³ VHSS 11; TZETZ. 963-965; SUDA 4; VHB 7.

age of 104. (8) Hippocrates' picture, in which he was portrayed with his head covered²⁴. (9) His writings²⁵. Although the VHSS does not give any of the titles of Hippocrates' works, S. himself will certainly have given a complete list of his works. Thus, the list preserved in the VHB may finally go back to him. It contains the titles of 52 or 53 books (although the author tells us: *scripsit ut multi memorant, libros LXX et II*), which is more or less the number mentioned by Tzetzes. Single authorities are quoted by the VHB, as would also suit S. Regarding S.s working method and sources, it seems clear that he did not read all the authors he refers to in the original. Comparing his other writings, he probably got his material mainly from other biographical collections like that of Philo (1060) and Hermippus (1061), which he enriched with further quotations from his own reading. In the case of Hippocrates the origin of the biographical *vulgata* is difficult to determine, since there will have been many specialized treatises. The most recent sources mentioned by S. seem to be Ischomachus (1058) and Arius of Tarsus. Hippocrates will, however, have also featured in the collections mentioned above. In general, the value of S.s information should not be overestimated. Analysis shows that large parts of the life go back to the pseudographic epistles of Hippocrates.

Commentary on the Testimonies and the Fragments

T

(1) The Suda mistakenly gives us two entries on S., though we should obviously take them together²⁶. The text of the first entry appears quite mutilated. The wording καὶ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ δὲ ιατρεύσας looks rather odd, and a main verb is missing.

(2) The entry supplies part of the missing list of works. S.s biographies of physicians are also called Διαδοχαὶ ιατρῶν (F 1). Speaking of Βίους ιατρῶν καὶ αἱρέσεις καὶ συντάγματα, the Suda seems to give a description of the work rather than its title.

²⁴ VHSS 12; TZETZ. 970-975; SUDA 5; VHB 6.

²⁵ VHSS 13; TZETZ. 962-963; SUDA 6; VHB 8.

²⁶ KIND (1927: 1114-1115).

F

(1) Since S. is the most recent authority, it seems possible that he quoted the doxographical work of both Philo (1060) and Hermippus (1061)²⁷. The fragment reveals S.s interest in etymology. It should be kept in mind that he was also the author of a medical etymological dictionary used by Orion (1093). The fragment also shows that S.s work included detailed biographies of minor physicians.

(2) The VHSS preserves the most complete version of Hippocrates' life. (1) In contrast to Tzetzes who makes Hippocrates the seventeenth in line from Asclepius the VHSS states that he was the nineteenth. There were either alternative genealogies or Tzetzes' source already suffered from a lacuna²⁸. Neither family tree can be traced back to Apollodorus, since the span of time between his date for the fall of Troy (1184/3 b.c.) and what appears to have been his *floruit* of Hippocrates (420 b.c.) is slightly too long²⁹. Pherecydes³⁰ will have spoken about the origin of the Asclepiads rather than about his contemporary Hippocrates. There is no need to assume that a family tree of Hippocrates was added in a Hellenistic edition of Pherecydes' work. It is probable that Pherecydes is mentioned in the vita simply because Apollodorus quoted him together with Eratosthenes³¹. Arius of Tarsus is by far the latest authority. If the ethnikon is correct³², he should be identified with the physician Lecanius Arius from Tarsus, the friend of Laecinius Bassus, cos. A.D. 64³³, although there is no other evidence that he wrote about Hippocrates. It appears quite likely that he is the source for the entire doxographical note³⁴. (2) In this section Hippocrates' teachers are listed. Besides his father they are Herodicus, Gorgias, and Democritus. This is of course biographical fiction, which tries to connect Hippocrates with other celebrities. In the case of Democritus it even contradicts other statements according to which Hippocrates was his contemporary, cf. § 11. (3) Hippocrates' *floruit* is usually dated roughly to the time of the Peloponnesian

²⁷ On the content see on 1061. HERMIPPUS T 4.

²⁸ SCHÖNE (1903: 63); PINAULT (1992: 30).

²⁹ JACOBY (1902: 296).

³⁰ FGrHist 3 F 59.

³¹ Cf. JACOBY (1902: 295). Apollodorus may also be referred to in VHB 3; cf., however, JACOBY p. 750 on FGrHist 244 F 73.

³² If not, one could also think of the doxographer Arius Didymus.

³³ DIELS (1879: 87 n. 3); PINAULT (1992: 9).

³⁴ JACOBY (1902: 295).

War³⁵. According to Ischomachus (1058) Hippocrates' birth dates to the first year of the 80th Olympiad, i.e. 460 b.c. It is obvious that this chronology creates a perfect synchronism with Democritus, whose birth is dated to the same year. It was probably already established by the time of Apollodorus³⁶. Ischomachus himself can be dated roughly to Julio-Claudian times³⁷. Soranus of Cos is even more precise. According to him—after a look in the Coan archives—Hippocrates was born on the 27th Agrianus³⁸. Since a Soranus of Cos is otherwise unknown, it appears quite likely that he should be identified with S. of Ephesus and that the compiler of the VHSS simply accorded the wrong ethnikon to him. S.s remarks are clearly anachronistic. If he had looked at any documents, they were clearly fakes, since there will have been neither a state archive nor a *monarchos* as state official before the synoecism in 366 b.c.³⁹, not to mention at the time of Hippocrates' birth in the middle of the fifth century. (4) After the death of his parents Hippocrates is said to have left home on a journey. Travelling is a typical feature of biography⁴⁰. According to the malicious version of Andreas, Hippocrates burnt down the archive in Cnidus, and therefore had to go into exile. This Andreas should probably be identified with the Herophilean physician of Ptolemy IV Philopator, who died in 217 b.c. at Raphia⁴¹. The same story is given with the variant of Cos by Tzetzes (955-957), a similar anecdote connected with the Coan Asclepieion is told by Strabo⁴² and by

³⁵ Cf. GELL. 17,21,16-18 (after Varro): *bellum deinde in terra Graecia maximum Peloponnesiacum (...). inter haec tempora nobiles celebresque erant Sophocles ac deinde Euripides tragicci poetae et Hippocrates medicus et philosophus Democritus (...);* HIER. Chron. a. 435 a.c. p. 114,7-10 HELM: *Democritus Abderites et Empedocles et Hippocrates medicus Gorgias Hippias et Prodicus et Zeno et Parmenides philosophi insignes habentur;* SYNCOLL. p. 298,3; 304,18-20 MOSSHAMMER; [HIPPOCR.] 27 Presb. p. 422 LITTRÉ IX [L.].

³⁶ JACOBY (1902: 297).

³⁷ Contra PINAULT (1992: 11) who dates him after Galenus. Ischomachus, however, is referred to already by Erosianus.

³⁸ On the name of the month and the Coan calendar in general cf. SAMUEL (1972: 111-113).

³⁹ See SHERWIN-WHITE (1978: 190-192).

⁴⁰ Cf. LEO (1901: 28).

⁴¹ See on him SUSEMIHL I (1891: 817-818), who remains sceptical about any identification. However, it seems to me that it is altogether easier to attribute the work Περὶ ἱατρικῆς γενεαλογίας to the well known physician, too, than to postulate a second unknown physician called Andreas. Furthermore, Andreas is also quoted elsewhere by S., cf. SORAN. (CMG IV) *Cyn.* 4,1,6 p. 131,4-5; CAEL. AURELIAN. *Ac. morb.* 3,98; 3,108.

Pliny⁴³. Since it is always Cos that is referred to, it has been suggested that "Cos" should be read in the VHSS as well⁴⁴. However, it seems to me that the mistake is likely to have been Tzetzes', because Cnidus is the *lectio difficilior*. A connection between Hippocrates and Cnidus is not *prima facie* to be excluded. There was a medical school at Cnidus, and, according to VHSS 5 Euryphon, one of its prominent members, accompanied Hippocrates to the court of Perdiccas. Thus Cnidus may well be right. Nevertheless, it is quite curious that there should have been an official archive at Cnidus at that time, and the reference may, in the end, be an anachronism. (5) Perdiccas is also associated with Hippocrates by Lucian and Galenus⁴⁵. Here he is said to have cured the Macedonian king from lovesickness⁴⁶. The story itself appears quite unconvincing, because it is hard to see why Perdiccas should not dare to declare his love to Phila, when his father is already dead, but prefers to suffer in silence instead. A similar anecdote is more plausibly told about king Antiochus I and the physician Erasistratus in which Antiochus loves his stepmother Stratonice and has every reason to conceal his passion from his father Seleucus. It therefore seems quite likely that the story was simply transferred from Antiochus and Erasistratus to Perdiccas and Hippocrates⁴⁷. (6) Abdera's appeal to Hippocrates to heal Democritus from madness features in several of Hippocrates' pseudographic letters⁴⁸. The notion that he cured Abdera from a plague may go back to some remarks in the letters, which compare the disorder of the state to an illness⁴⁹. (7) Hippocrates' refusal to cure the Paeonians and Illyrians from the plague, and his precautions to save Greece are first attested by the pseudographic *Presbeutikos*⁵⁰. It is also referred to by Varro and the elder Pliny⁵¹. (8) Hippocrates' rejection of Artaxerxes invita-

⁴² STRAB. *Geogr.* 14,2,19 p. 657 C.

⁴³ Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 29,4, tells how Hippocrates after copying the cures inscribed on votive tablets *ut Varro apud nos credit, templo cremato ius instituisse medicinam hanc, qui clinice vocatur.*

⁴⁴ PINAULT (1992: 7 n. 10).

⁴⁵ Cf. LUCIAN. *Hist. conscr.* 35; GAL. *Med. phil.* 3, II p. 5,6-10 MÜLLER.

⁴⁶ On the anecdote in general cf. PINAULT (1992: 61-77).

⁴⁷ ROHDE (1914: 55-58); PINAULT (1992: 71).

⁴⁸ Cf. [HIPPOCR.] *Ep.* 10-17 p. 320-381 L. IX.

⁴⁹ Cf. [HIPPOCR.] *Ep.* 10 p. 322,15 and 18-19 L. IX: τοὺς νόμους ἡμῶν δοκοῦμεν νοεῖν (...). πόλιν, οὐκ ἄνδρα θεραπεύσεις, βουλὴν δὲ νοσοῦσαν (...); cf. PINAULT (1992: 13).

⁵⁰ [HIPPOCR.] 27 p. 418-421 L. IX.

⁵¹ VARR. *Rust.* 1,4,5; PLIN. *Nat. hist.* 7,123; 36,202. On the anecdote and its transformation cf. PINAULT (1992: 35-60).

tion is also the subject of several of his pseudepigraphic letters and the Athenian honorary decree⁵². That the letters were known to the author is also shown by his explicit reference to the fifth letter. (9) Hippocrates' appeal to the Thessalians to save the Coans is the subject of the pseudepigraphic Επιθώμιος⁵³. (10) The section on Hippocrates' honours seems to be quite heterogeneous. The first part still refers to the situation of the Επιθώμιος. Then the Thessalians, Argives, and Athenians are added. The transition looks clumsy, although the text appears to be sound. It is probable that Argos comes into the picture, because the Asclepiads claimed Heraclean origin. The information about Athenian honours seems to be based on the pseudepigraphic *Honorary decree*⁵⁴. (11) In contrast to the other biographies the VHSS offers some variants concerning Hippocrates' age. It is clear that most of them originated from the synchronism with Democritus, who is also variously said to have reached the age of 90, 104, and 109⁵⁵. (12) The VHSS states that Hippocrates was mostly portrayed with his head covered. Unfortunately, no such portrait has survived⁵⁶. It then offers eight different explanations for this habit—far more than the other sources, since Tzetzes gives only four reasons, while the VHB and the Suda provide only three. (13) This section looks like an introduction to a catalogue⁵⁷. It mentions the criteria according to which the selection of genuine works should proceed, and points out the difficulties. (14) This section duplicates material from §§ 8-10. (15) Finally, some remarks about Hippocrates' sons and pupils are added. It seems to me that the compiler of the VHSS moved them here in order to provide the biography with a suitable ending. The ἐπιτήδειοι have already been mentioned in § 10, and this was most certainly the place where some information about his sons and pupils was given in the original.

(3) Tzetzes (978) cites S. as his authority, but he does not appear to have used him directly. As the parallels with the Suda show, his account is probably based on Hesychius. Moreover, Tzetzes' version has some structural similarity to the VHB, insofar as it consists mainly

⁵² [HIPPOCR.] *Ep.* 1-9 p. 312-319; 25 p. 400-403 L. IX; cf. also PLUT. *Cato Maior*, 23,4; GAL. *Med. phil.* 3, II p. 5,6-10 MÜLLER; see in general PINAULT (1992: 79-93).

⁵³ [HIPPOCR.] 26 p. 402-405 L. IX.

⁵⁴ Cf. [HIPPOCR.] 25 *Decr. Ath.* p. 402,6-12 L. IX: (...) δέδοκται τῷ δῆμῳ μυῆσαι αὐτὸν τὰ μυστήρια τὰ μεγάλα δημοσίᾳ καθάπερ Ἡρακλέα τὸν Διός (...) είναι δὲ Ἰπποκράτει καὶ πολιτείαν καὶ σίτησιν ἐν πρυτανείω διὰ βίου.

⁵⁵ JACOBY (1902: 297-298); PINAULT (1992: 16).

⁵⁶ RICHTER (1965: 151-154 [= 136-139]); PINAULT (1992: 16-17).

⁵⁷ ILBERG (1927: XV).

of lists, with very little room being accorded to the life of Hippocrates itself. After two lines on Hippocrates' parents (937-938) Tzetzes offers a complete genealogy (939-949). The first five generations are given also by the VHB, the family from Nebrus (947) onwards is preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium⁵⁸. Tzetzes then spends fifteen lines on Hippocrates' life (951-965). First (951-954) he lists his teachers, then (955-959), like the VHSS, he explains why Hippocrates left Cos—Tzetzes, however, makes him burn an archive in Cos, not in Cnidus, cf. on VHSS 4—that he lived in Edonia—Tzetzes probably thought this was a synonym for Macedonia⁵⁹—, Greece (!) and Thessaly, and that he was a contemporary of Artaxerxes and Perdiccas. In 960-963 he speaks of Hippocrates' legacy (his sons, pupils, 53 books, giving the same number as the catalogue of the VHB). Finally (963-965) there follow some remarks on Hippocrates' age—as in the Suda and the VHB it is 104 years without variants—and burial place. The next section (966-969) contains a list of homonyms. Apart from the famous Hippocrates there are six others, which are given by Tzetzes in the same order as by the Suda⁶⁰. Tzetzes then (970-975) goes on to speak about Hippocrates' portrait. He offers four reasons why Hippocrates covered his head. The arrangement is basically the same as in the Suda and the VHB. He then closes his biography with some general remarks (976-981). The statement that Hippocrates is mistakenly called an Empiric certainly goes back to Soranus⁶¹, who was a member of the Methodical school and who is quoted as an authority for the whole biography in the next line.

(4) The text of the VHB preserved in a Brussels manuscript of Theodorus Priscianus (Nr. 1342-1350) suffers from heavy corruption⁶². The mistakes result mainly from a misspelling of Greek words and from incorrect endings, which appear to have been given in an abbreviated form by the archetype. It is a close Latin translation of a Greek text, the original word order being retained as far as possible and even the Greek particles being translated. Although it is not a

⁵⁸ STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Κῶς: (...) ἦν δὲ Ἰπποκράτης τῶν καλουμένων Νεβριδῶν· Νέβρος γάρ ἐγένετο ὁ διασημότατος τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν, φὸς καὶ ἡ Πυθία ἐμαρτύρησεν οὐδὲ Γνωστίδικος, Γνωστίδικον δὲ Ἰπποκράτης καὶ Αἴνειος καὶ Ποδαλείτιος, Ἰπποκράτους Ἡρακλείδης, οὐδὲ Ἰπποκράτης ὁ ἐπιφανέστατος. Ον Αἴνειος (cf. also IG I³ 1393 (= CEG 62)).

⁵⁹ HARDER (1886: 64); PINAULT (1992: 31) whose reference to HARDER should be corrected.

⁶⁰ SUDA I 565-569.

⁶¹ Contra PINAULT (1992: 23-24).

⁶² SCHÖNE (followed by PINAULT), the first editor, only gives a transcription of the manuscript noting his suggestions in the apparatus.

direct translation of the VHSS (F 2), the parallels in the preserved parts are so close that the VHSS allows us to emend some of its corruptions. First (§ 1) the names of Hippocrates' parents and his genos are noted. Then follows (§ 2) Hippocrates' genealogy. The preserved part is similar to Tzetzes' account, except that it is much more detailed. Whereas Tzetzes only registers the names of the direct ancestors, the VHB gives a complete list. He tells us that Podalirius stayed in Syrna in the region of the Rhodian Peraea⁶³, quoting from Antimachus' *Thebais*⁶⁴. He then lists the subsequent generations, also mentioning other branches of the family down to Crisamis. Here again the text suffers from corruption. The transmitted *adagibias* is senseless. Since it seems to be a reference to a Greek personal name ending in -as, the form *Ablavias* readily suggests itself. As Tzetzes' family tree shows, some names were used several times in the tradition. It would therefore be an easy move to endow Crisamis with a fictitious daughter named after his sister Ablavias. Furthermore, a male personal name is missing. This name is supplied by Tzetzes who lists Cleomyttadas as Crisamis' son. The relative clause contains a reference to a place. Again the transmitted *driam* does not admit of any sense. It seems to hide the name of *Tricca*, a Thessalian city prominent in the cult of Asclepius⁶⁵. The text then breaks off, with the subsequent loss of the rest of the family tree and of the whole of Hippocrates' life. The next section we have (§ 3) refers to the honours accorded to the Asclepiads. Two authorities are quoted: an Apollodorus and a Thessalus who is said to have corrected him. Apollodorus is probably to be identified with Apollodorus of Athens who is also referred to in VHSS 1. In the case of Thessalus, it is hard to see why this should not be the famous Methodic physician Thessalus⁶⁶, who lived in Neronian times and to whom the Methodic Soranus also refers elsewhere in his work⁶⁷. However, the passage might also be interpreted as a rather odd reference to the pseudo-Hippocratic Πρεσβευτικός which is put into the mouth of Hippocrates' son Thessalus. After mentioning Hippocrates' sons (§ 4) the

⁶³ Cf. also THEOPOMPUS *FGrHist* 115 F 103 (= PHOT. *Bibl.* 176 p. 120 b 7); STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Σύρνα (perhaps after Alexander of Myndus); PAUS. 3,26,10; on Syrna in general BLÜMEL (1991: 87-94).

⁶⁴ In <...> *Thebaidos* seems to be the most likely emendation of the corrupt *in Thenito*. Other Latin quotations of Antimachus show that the book number was often given just by a numeral. For other solutions cf. MATTHEWS (1996: 412).

⁶⁵ Cf. KIRSTEN (1939: 147) for parallels.

⁶⁶ Contra DILLER (1936: 182).

⁶⁷ Cf. DILLER (1936: 168).

author turns to Hippocrates' pupils (§ 5). Apart from his sons, they include Polybus (sometimes called Polybius), who is probably the same as Hippocrates' son-in-law (cf. § 8), Dexippus, Apollonius, Praxagoras, and Thymbræus, who are also known from other sources⁶⁸. Philistion (*Filion* in the manuscript) seems to be the famous physician Philistion of Locri, although he is not usually connected with Hippocrates. Archeopolis, Timolycus, and Polyarchus are at least attested elsewhere as Coan names⁶⁹. The names Menalus (Melanthus?) and Bonus (Agathon?) seem to be corrupt. § 6 contains the description of Hippocrates' portrait. It is an abridged version of VHSS 12, to which it shows some affinity in its vocabulary. It is at times almost a translation. The same applies to § 7, the section about Hippocrates' death and tomb. There is, however, a notable difference. Hippocrates' age is given as 104 years, as in the accounts of Tzetzes and the Suda, and no alternative is offered as it is in the VHSS. Finally (§ 8) there follows a list of Hippocrates' works. It is preserved not only as part of the vita on fol. 52v-53v (= A), but also separately in the same Brussels manuscript on fol. 3r (= B). Both lists are written by the same hand and derive from the same archetype⁷⁰. It is stated in the heading that many attributed Hippocrates with 72 works, but the catalogue itself contains about twenty fewer than this. It clearly presents a much abridged or mutilated form of the original. The original catalogue will have contained much more detailed information on the works themselves, their chronology and authenticity, and will have stated various scholarly opinions of which the present list still contains a few traces. Thus, it opens with some information on the time and circumstances under which the corpus was formed. Hippocrates is said to have composed it after his return from Artaxerxes⁷¹. This remarkably contradicts the common version that

⁶⁸ On Polybus see especially [HIPPOCR.] 27 *Presb.* p. 420 L. IX: Πολύβιον δὲ τὸν τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχοντα, ἐμήν δὲ ἀδελφεῆν, καὶ ἄλλους τῶν μαθητέων διέπεμπεν; on Dexippus cf. GAL. In Hipp. vict. acut. 1,24; 3,42 (CMG V 9,1 p. 145,22; 256,3 HELMR.); PLUT. Quaest. conv. 7,1,3 p. 699 C (Δέξι- Wellm. : Διώξ- cod.); SUDA 8 238 s.v. Δέξιππος; on Apollonius cf. GAL. In Hipp. vict. acut. 1,24; 3,42; 4,5 (CMG V 9,1 p. 145,22; 256,3; 277,5-7 HELMR.); on Praxagoras see especially TZETZES Chil. 7,961 (F 3). Only the VHB informs us that there existed an elder Praxagoras besides the famous one. It was probably his grandfather, cf. BARDONG (1954: 1735), if it is not only a biographical fiction to connect Praxagoras with Hippocrates. On Thymbræus cf. SUDA 1 568 s.v. Ἰπποκράται; on Syennesis, probably Syennesis of Cyprus ARIST. Hist. an. 3,2 p. 511 b 23-24.

⁶⁹ Cf. the onomastikon of Coan personal names by SHERWIN-WHITE (1978).

⁷⁰ Cf. SCHÖNE (1903: 56).

⁷¹ It seems to me that the form *Aifaxath* is due rather to an error by a scribe than to the translator, contra PINAULT (1992: 27-28).

Hippocrates refused to visit the Persian king⁷². The core of the corpus is said to have been formed by seven books, which his son-in-law Polybus had brought from Memphis. This legend –otherwise unparalleled—possibly sought to connect Hippocrates with the local Asclepieion at Memphis⁷³. Later on, Ischomachus, Heraclides, and Bacchius are referred to for special information on single works. It should be noted that these authorities are all quoted by S. elsewhere. The catalogue differs greatly in arrangement from the other lists of Hippocrates' works. It gives 45 or 46 titles—depending on whether *De vulneribus et telorum detractationibus* is reckoned as one or, as it is in the list of the *Vat. Graec. 276 (V)*⁷⁴, as two separate books—, some of which (no. 29; 34-37; 40-45) do not occur elsewhere: 1. Ὁρκος (*Iuramentum*), 2. Περὶ ἄρθρων (*De articulis*), 3. Περὶ ἀγμῶν (*De fracturis*), 4. Προγνωστικόν, 5. a book called *Liber regularis*. The title probably refers to the appendix of Περὶ διαιτῆς ὁξέων⁷⁵. Two authorities are quoted: Ischomachus (1058) and Heraclides. Ischomachus apparently stated that Hippocrates διαιτητικόν was incorporated into the *Corpus Hippocraticum* by Heraclides. The VHB calls Heraclides an Ephesian, and there is indeed a physician of that name⁷⁶, but it is likely that this is due simply to a confusion. The reference was probably to the famous Empiric Heraclides of Tarentum, who lived in the 1st century b.c. and who wrote commentaries on Hippocrates' genuine works and also a *Liber regularis*. 6. Ἐπιδημιῶν I-VI, 7. Κατὰ ιητρεῖον, 8. Ἀφορισμοί, 9. Περὶ φύσιος παιδίου (*De infantis natura*). The item is left out by fol. 52^v (A) and is introduced in fol. 3^r (B) in a singular way, insofar as Bacchius' opinion is quoted without stating the title first. In the original list it may have been added only as a chronological variant after the *Aphorisms*⁷⁷. 10. Περὶ ύδατων (*De aquis*), 11. Περὶ τόπων τῶν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον (*De locorum positione*), 12. Προρρητικόν, but only one book. Perhaps there was simply a corruption of the number in the archetype, 13. A book called *De praecidendo*. The title has been thought to refer to Προρρητικόν II, but this seems rather odd⁷⁸. Perhaps it is a

⁷² Cf. PINAULT (1992: 27).

⁷³ Cf. GRENSEMAN (1974: 429).

⁷⁴ Cf. SCHÖNE (1903: 65). However, the text in its present state implies that it was regarded as one.

⁷⁵ This book by Hippocrates is quoted by CAEL. AUELIAN. *Ac. morb.* 2,19,154: *Hippocrates in libro regulari, quem diaeteticum vocant;* cf. SCHÖNE (1903: 58), contra PINAULT (1992: 26 n. 103).

⁷⁶ Cf. ORIBAS. CMG VI 2,2 p. 9,13-14; 9, 20-21 RAEDER.

⁷⁷ Cf. SCHÖNE (1903: 65).

⁷⁸ *Contra* SCHÖNE (1903: 59); also PINAULT (1992: 26 n. 106).

mutilated reference to Hippocrates book on abortion Περὶ ἐγκατατομῆς ἐμβρύου⁷⁹. 14. Περὶ φυσῶν (*De inflationibus*), 15. Μοχλικόν (*Vecticulum*), 16. Περὶ ἀέρων ύδατων τόπων or ὥρῶν (*De aquis et aere*). 17. *De finibus*. The title arises from a misunderstanding of ὥρῶν, which was confused with ὥρων. 18. Περὶ τρωμάτων ὀλεθρίων/Περὶ βελῶν ἔξαιρέσεως (*De vulneribus et telorum detractationibus*). As the text stands this seems to be one title. However, since it falls into two separate treatises and is listed as two books in the index of the *Vat. 276 (V)*, corruption should not be ruled out. 19. Περὶ νούσων II (*De morbis*), 20. *De partu*. the title is extremely problematic. Maybe it is mutilated and hides a reference to Περὶ ἐγκατατομῆς ἐμβρύου⁸⁰, or perhaps rather to Περὶ ἐπικυνῆσιος. 21. Διαιτητικόν. Unfortunately the Latin title is missing. It may refer either to Περὶ διαιτῆς⁸¹ or to Περὶ διαιτῆς ὄξεων. 22. Περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τρωμάτων (*De vulneribus in capite*). It is difficult to decide whether *ulceribus* is part of the genuine title or only originated as a variant to *vulneribus*. Regarding the Greek the latter solution is perhaps to be preferred. 23. Περὶ αἷμορροΐδων (*De haemorrhoidibus*), 24. Περὶ συρίγγων (*De fistulis*), 25. Περὶ φαρμάκων (*De medicaminibus*), 26. Περὶ ἐλκέων (*De carcinosis vulneribus*), 27. Γυναικείων II, 28. Περὶ χυμῶν (*De sucis corporum*), 29. Περὶ ρῶν γυναικῶν (*De fluoribus feminarum*), 30. Περὶ ἑβδομάδων (*De septimanarum numero*), 31. Περὶ ὀκτωμηναίων, a variant of the title of Περὶ ὀκταμήνου (*De partu octo mensium*), 32. Περὶ κρισίμων (*De statis ac legitimis in passionibus diebus*), 33. Περὶ ἀρχαίης ιατρικῆς (*De veteris medicinae mandatis*), 34. *De hydropticis* (Περὶ ὑδρωπικῶν), 35. *De cephalargias* (Περὶ κεφαλαργίας), 36. *De podagricis* (Περὶ ποδαγρικῶν), 37. *De neurotrotis* (Περὶ νευροτρόπων), 38. Περὶ ιερῆς νούσου (*De epilepsia*), 39. Περὶ γονῆς (*De semine*), 40. *De similitutinibus* (Περὶ ὁμοιοτήτων), 41. *De ictericis* (Περὶ ικτερικῶν), 42. *De geminis* (Περὶ διδύμων), 43. *De hermafroditis* (Περὶ ἔρμαφροδίτων), 44. *De stomachicis* (Περὶ στομαχικῶν), 45. *De hepaticis* (Περὶ ήπατικῶν). All these works make up a total of 52 or 53 books (six books *Epidemics*, two *On Diseases*, two *On Diseases of Women*), which is also the number Tzetzes (following S.) attributes to Hippocrates. Tzetzes appears to refer to the same catalogue, which must therefore ultimately be derived from S.⁸². That the catalogue goes back to S. seems also to be confirmed by some further observation. In his treatise Περὶ σπερμάτων καὶ ζωογονίας (preserved in the Latin translation

⁷⁹ AS TERT. *Anim.* 25,4-6 seems to show, this work was also known to S.

⁸⁰ PINAULT (1992: 26 n. 110)

⁸¹ Cf. SCHÖNE (1903: 60).

⁸² Cf. PINAULT (1992: 31); contra SCHÖNE (1903: 66).

of Vindicianus) S. quotes some books by number. Περὶ ὀκτωμηναίων has the number 38, a book entitled Ἐπιδημιῶν is referred to as number 11, which corresponds more or less to the numbering of the list. There is, nevertheless, a notable difference. Περὶ φύσιος παιδίου is quoted as book 49, whereas according to VHB it would be number 14. However, as was said above, the form of the entry (*Baccius autem Herophili sectator memorat*) may indicate that it was noted at this place only as a variant.

(5) The Suda's brief biography of Hippocrates, who is enthusiastically introduced as "star⁸³ and light of the art of medicine" has basically the same structure as the other lives. Nevertheless, there are some distortions and additions based on the pseudographic writings of Hippocrates. In place of the usual genealogy the Suda only offers two names, Chrysus and Elaphus, which go back to the story in the pseudographic *Presbeutikos*. There we are told that in the First Sacred War over Delphi between the Crisaean and the Amphictyonians Apollo promised help to the latter under the riddling condition that ἐξ Κῶ ἐλθόντες ἔλαφου παῖδα (= fawn) ἐξ ἐπικουρίην ἀγάγωνται ξὺν χρύσῳ σπεύσαντες⁸⁴. The riddle is solved when they meet the physician Νεβρός (= fawn) and his eldest son Χρύσος in Cos. These are the names taken over by the Suda, though it gives them in the wrong order, making Nebrus the son of Chrysus. The section about Hippocrates' teachers also appears to be quite muddled. The qualification φιλόσοφος seems to be transferred from Democritus to Gorgias. Democritus is erroneously made younger than Hippocrates. Moreover, Prodicus is numbered among Hippocrates' teachers. This is not a genuine piece of information, since the name seems to have originated from a gloss on Heroditus⁸⁵. The most obvious addition, however, is the insertion of the entire third pseudographic letter at the beginning of the list of Hippocrates' work⁸⁶. The catalogue itself is considerably abridged, with only four works being mentioned. The *Oath*, the *Prognostics*, the *Aphorisms*, and a fourth work called Ἐξηκοντάβιβλος. This reference has never been sufficiently explained⁸⁷. There is no such book amongst Hippocrates' works. The

⁸³ On the use of ἀστήρ cf. MEN. T. 151,9-14 K.-A.

⁸⁴ [HIPPOCR.] 27 *Presb.* p. 410,2-3 L. IX.

⁸⁵ HARDER (1886: 64).

⁸⁶ On the letter cf. BRODERSEN (1994: 103-106).

⁸⁷ PINAULT (1992: 20-21) implausibly speaks of four rolls the first containing "the *Oath*, the second (...) prognostic works, the third aphorisms, and the fourth sixty books."

title seems to be due to an error by the Suda or the manuscripts. We should instead read Ἐξάβιβλος, a reference to the six books of *Epidemics*, which also fit the subsequent description.

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1063. Nicomachus of Gerasa

(1st–2nd cent. A.D.)

F

ΒΙΟΣ ΠΥΓΘΑΓΟΡΟΥ?

1 ΠΟΡΦΥΡ. *Vita Pyth.* 20-31: Οὕτως δὲ πάντας εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπέστρεψεν (*sc.* Πυθαγόρας), ὥστε μιᾷ μόνον ἀκροάσει, ὡς φησιν Νικόμαχος, ἦν ἐπιβὰς τῆς Ἰταλίας πεποίηται, πλέον ἡ δισχιλίους ἔλειν τοῖς λόγοις, ὡς μηκέτι οἴκαδ' ἀποστῆναι, ἀλλ' ὅμοι σὺν παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶν ὁμακοείον τι παμμέγεθες 5 ιδρυσαμένους πολίσαι τὴν πρὸς πάντων ἐπικληθεῖσαν Μεγάλην Ἐλλάδα ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, νόμους τε παρ' αὐτοῦ δεξαμένους καὶ προστάγματα ὡσανεὶ θείας ὑποθήκας ἐκτὸς τούτων πράττειν μηδὲ ἔν. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τὰς οὐσίας κοινὰς 10 ἔθεντο καὶ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν τὸν Πυθαγόραν κατηρίθμιον· διόπερ ἔν τι τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἀπορρήτων προχειρισάμενοι, γλαφυρὸν ἄλλως καὶ πρὸς πολλὰ διατείνον φυσικὰ συντελέσματα, τὴν [τε] λεγομένην τετρακτύν, 15 δι' αὐτῆς ἐπώμυνον ὡς θεόν τινα τὸν Πυθαγόραν ἐπιφεγγόμενοι πάντες ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν βεβαιουμένοις,
οὕ, μὰ τὸν ἀμετέρα γενεὰ παραδόντα τετρακτύν,
παγὰν ἀενάου φύσιος ρίζωμά τ' ἔχουσαν.
15 (21) ἀς δ' ἐπιδημήσας Ἰταλίᾳ τε καὶ Σικελίᾳ κατέλαβε πόλεις δεδουλωμένας ὑπ' ἄλλήλων, τὰς μὲν πολλῶν ἐτῶν τὰς δὲ νεωστί, φρονήματος ἐλευθερίου πλήσας διὰ τῶν ἐφ' ἕκαστης ἀκουστῶν αὐτοῦ ἡλευθέρωσε, Κρότωνα καὶ Σύβαριν καὶ Κατάνην καὶ Ρήγιον καὶ Ἰμέραν καὶ Ἀκράγαντα καὶ Ταυρομένιον καὶ ὄλλας τινάς, αἵς καὶ νόμους ἔθετο διὰ Χαρώνδα τε τοῦ 20 Καταναίου καὶ Ζαλεύκου τοῦ Λοκροῦ, δι' ὧν ἀξιοζήλωτοι τοῖς περιοίκοις ὥχρι πολλοῦ γεγόνασιν. Σίμιχος δ' ὁ Κεντοριπίνων τύραννος ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ τὴν τ' ἀρχὴν ἀπέθετο καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὰ μὲν τῇ ἀδελφῇ, τὰ δὲ τοῖς πολίταις ἔδωκεν. (22) προσῆλθον δ' αὐτῷ, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστόξενος (F 17 WEHRLI II), καὶ

⁷ δὲ καὶ BW: δὲ V: καὶ LM ¹⁰ τε del. Westermann ¹³⁻¹⁴ cf. 58 A 19 DK, I p. 455,9-10¹³ γενεὰ codd.: ψυχᾶς aur. carn.: κεφαλᾶ Hippol.: φύτλα coni. Nauk ¹⁴ ρίζωμά τ' coni. Nauk: ρίζωματ' codd. ¹⁶ ἄλλήλων codd., Iambl. § 33: ἄλλων Cobet, Coll. Crit. p. 319; 414¹⁷ πλήσας codd.: ὑποπλ- Iambl. ibid. ²⁰ τοῖς codd.: ταῖς Iambl. ibid. ²¹ Κεντοριπίνων Holstenius: -πιῶν codd.

1063. Nicomachus of Gerasa

(1st 2nd cent. A.D.)

F

LIFE OF PYTHAGORAS?

1 To such an extent did he (*sc.* Pythagoras) convert everyone to his cause that, according to Nicomachus, he won over in only one lecture (which he gave after his arrival in Italy) more than two thousand people by his words, so that they did not return home, but together with their wives and children built an immense school and colonized the region in Italy that is commonly called *Magna Graecia*, and, receiving laws and instructions from him as if they were divine orders they strictly abided by them. They also shared their property in common and counted Pythagoras amongst the gods. This is the reason why they chose one of their secret scientific formulas, which, by the way, is neat and pertains to the solution of many physical problems, the so-called tetrakys, and used to swear by it, everyone and on every matter they wanted to confirm, calling upon Pythagoras as upon a god:
“No, in the name of him who gave to our race the tetrakys, which keeps the source and the roots of overflowing nature.”

(21) And all the cities in Italy and Sicily which, on his journey, he had found—some for many years, some only recently—enslaved by one another he filled with the spirit of freedom and liberated them through the disciples he had in each: Croton, Sybaris, Catane, Rhegium, Himera, Acragas, Tauromenium, and some others. He also gave them laws through Charondas of Catane and Zaleucus of Locri, as a result of which they were envied by their neighbours for a long time. And Simichus, the tyrant of Centoripe, having listened to him resigned his power and divided his property between his sister and his fellow citizens. (22) According to Aristoxenus

Λευκανοὶ καὶ Μεσσάπιοι καὶ Πευκέτιοι καὶ Ὦρμαῖοι. Ἀνεῖλεν δ' ἄρδην
 25 στάσιν οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων αὐτῶν ἄχρι
 πολλῶν γενεῶν καὶ καθόλου ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ τε καὶ Σικελίᾳ πόλεων πασῶν
 πρός τε ἑαυτὰς καὶ πρὸς ἄλλήλας, πυκνὸν γάρ ἦν πρὸς ἅπαντας αὐτῷ πολλοὺς
 καὶ διάγονος τόδε τὸ ἀπόφθεγμα· φυγαδευτέον πάσῃ μηχανῇ καὶ περικοπτέον
 πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ μηχαναῖς παντοίαις ἀπὸ μὲν σώματος νόσον, ἀπὸ
 30 δὲ ψυχῆς ἀμαθίαν, κοιλίας δὲ πολυτέλειαν, πόλεως δὲ στάσιν, οἴκου δὲ
 διχοφροσύνην, ὁμοῦ δὲ πάντων ἀμετρίαν. (23) εἰ δὲ δεῖ πιστεύειν τοῖς
 35 ιστορήσασι περὶ αὐτοῦ παλαιοῖς τε οὖσι καὶ ἀξιολόγοις, μέχρι καὶ τῶν
 ἀλόγων ζῷων διϊκνεῖτο αὐτοῦ ἡ νουθέτησις. τὴν μὲν γάρ Δαυνίαν ἄρκτον
 λιμαινομένην τοὺς ἐνοίκους κατασχών, ὡς φασι, καὶ ἐπαφησάμενος χρόνον
 40 συνχὸν ψωμίσας τε μάζῃ καὶ ἀκροδρύοις ὄρκώσας τε μηκέτι ἐμψύχου
 ἐφάπτεσθαι ἀπέλυσεν. ἡ δ' εὐθὺς εἰς τὰ ὅρη καὶ τοὺς δρυμοὺς ἀπαλλαγεῖσα
 οὐκέτ' ὥφθη παράπαν ἐπιοῦσα οὐδ' ἀλόγῳ ζῷῳ. (24) βοῦν δ' ἐν Τάραντι ἵδων
 <ἐν> παμμιγεῖ νομῇ κυνάμων χλωρῶν ἐφαπτόμενον, τῷ βουκόλῳ παραστὰς
 45 συνεβούλευσεν εἰπεῖν τῷ βοῖ τῶν κυάμων ἀποσχέσθαι· προσπαίξαντος δ'
 αὐτῷ τοῦ βουκόλου καὶ φήσαντος οὐκ εἰδέναι βοῖστὶ λαλεῖν, προσελθόντα καὶ
 εἰς τὸ οὖς προσφιθυρίσαντα τῷ ταύρῳ οὐ μόνον τότ' ἀποστῆσαι τοῦ κυαμῶνος,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐθὶς μηδέποτε κυάμων θιγεῖν, μακροχρονιώτατον δ' ἐν Τάραντι
 κατὰ τὸ τῆς Ἡρας ἱερὸν γηρώντα διαμεμενηκέναι τὸν ἱερὸν καλούμενον βοῦν,
 τροφὰς σιτούμενον ἀς οἱ ἀπαντῶντες ὥρεγον. (25) αἰετὸν δ' ὑπεριπτάμενον
 50 Ὁλυμπίαστι προσομιλοῦντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς γνωρίμοις ἀπὸ τύχης περί τε οἰωνῶν
 καὶ συμβόλων καὶ διοσημιῶν, ὅτι παρὰ θεῶν εἰσὶν ἀγγελίαι τινὲς καὶ ὅτται
 τοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς θεοφιλέσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καταγαγεῖν λέγεται καὶ
 καταπήσαντα πάλιν ἀφεῖναι. δικτυονικοῖς τ' ἐπιστάντα ἐπὶ τῆς σαγήνης ἐκ
 βυθοῦ πολὺν φόρτον ἐπισυρομένης, ὅσον πλῆθος ἐπισπῶνται προειπεῖν τῶν
 55 ἰχθύων ὄρισαντα τὸν ἀριθμόν, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπομεινάντων ὅτι ἄν κελεύσῃ
 πράξειν εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἀποβαίνη, ζῶντας ἀφεῖναι πάλιν κελεῦσαι τοὺς ἰχθύας
 πρότερον γε ἀκριβῶς διαριθμήσαντας· καὶ τὸ θαυμασιώτερον ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐν
 τοσούτῳ τῆς ἀριθμήσεως χρόνῳ τῶν ἰχθύων ἐκτὸς ὕδατος μεινάντων

27-28 πασῶν πρός τε ἑαυτὰς ^{B³}in marg. ^Min marg. ^W: πασ- τε πρὸς ἐ- BMVL : πασ- κατά τε ἐ- Iambl.
 § 34 ³⁴ φασι ^{B³}M : φησὶ ^{B³} VLW ³⁸ ἐν Iambl. § 61 : om. Porphyr. ⁴⁵ περὶ τε Iambl.
 § 62 : τε περὶ codd. ⁴⁶ καὶ ὅταν Nauck (cf. De abst. 2,53) : οἱ αὐταὶ codd. : καὶ αὐτὸι Iambl.
 ibid. ⁴⁹ ἐπισυρομένης VL : ἐπιστρωμένης Iambl. § 36 : de B per compendium scripto (μέν-) nihil
 constat : -μένοις Rittershausen, Nauck : -μενον MW || προειπεῖν VLW : -ῶν BM ⁵⁰ κελεύσῃ
 MW et fortasse ^{B³}Iambl. ibid. : κελεύνη ^{B³} VL ⁵¹ εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως Iambl. ibid. : εἰ θ' οὕτως codd.
⁵² διαριθμήσαντας Scaliger : -σαντα codd. : -σαντες Iambl. ibid.

he was also approached by the Lucanians, Messapians, Peucetians, and Romans. He completely rooted out discord not only among his disciples, but also among their descendants for many generations, and, in general, internal as well as interstate conflicts among all the cities in Italy and Sicily, constantly repeating to all, be it many or few, the following maxim: One must banish with all zeal and cut out with fire, iron and various devices sickness from the body, ignorance from the soul, luxury from the belly, strife from the city, discord from the family, and immoderation from all these together. (23) If one is to believe the ancient and authoritative writers on him, his admonition even reached the ears of irrational animals. When the Daunian bear was hurting the inhabitants, he got hold of her, as they say, stroked her for a long time, fed her with barley-cake and acorns, and released her only after he had made her swear that she would not touch any living being in the future. She went at once into the mountain forests and was never again seen attacking anything at all, not even an animal. (24) At Tarentum, when he saw an ox in a mixed pasturage feeding on green beans, he approached the herdsman and advised him to tell the ox to abstain from the beans. When the herdsman laughed at him and said that he did not know how to speak the ox's language, he went to the bull and whispered into his ear to leave the field of beans not only for the moment, but also never to touch beans afterwards. And it grew very old living at Tarentum at the sanctuary of Hera, the so-called holy ox, feeding on the food the visitors offered to it. (25) At Olympia, an eagle flew over his head while he, as chance would have it, was lecturing his pupils about presages, omens and divine signs, saying that there are certain messages and voices from the gods to those men they dearly love; and he is said to have made it come down and, having caressed it, to let it go again. Meeting fishermen while their dragging-net was drawing in a good haul from the deep, he foretold them how many fishes they would pull in, giving the precise number. And when the men agreed to do what he wanted if he turned out to be correct, he told them first to count the fishes exactly and then to throw them back alive into the water. And what is most surprising is that not one of the fishes died during his presence, even though

ἀπέπνευσεν ἐφεστῶτος αὐτοῦ. (26) πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων
55 ἀνεμίμησκε τοῦ προτέρου βίου ὃν αὐτῶν ἡ ψυχὴ πρὸ τοῦ τῷ σώματι
ἐνδεθῆναι πάλαι ποτ' ἐβίωσε. καὶ ἔαυτὸν δ' ἀναμφιλέκτοις τεκμηρίοις
ἀπέφαινεν Εὑφορβὸν τὸν Πάνθου. καὶ τῶν Ὁμηρικῶν στίχων ἐκείνους
μάλιστα ἔξύμνει καὶ μετὰ λύρας ἐμμελέστατα ἀνέμελπεν (Ἡμ. II.17, 51-60):

αἵματι οἱ δεύοντο κόμαι χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι
60 πλοχμοί θ', οἱ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἐσφήκωντο.
Οἰον δὲ τρέφει ἔρνος ἀνήρ ἐριθηλές ἐλαίης
χώρῳ ἐν οἰοπόλῳ, ὅθ' ὅλις ἀναβέβρυχεν ὕδωρ
καλὸν τηλεθάρον· τὸ δέ τε πνοιαὶ δονέουσιν
παντοίων ἀνέμων, καὶ τε βρύει ἄνθεϊ λευκῷ·
65 ἐλθὼν δ' ἔξαπτίνης ἀνεμος σὺν λαίλαπι πολλῇ
βόθρου τ' ἔξεστρεψε καὶ ἔξετάνυσσ' ἐπὶ γαίης·
τοῖον Πάνθου νιὸν ἐμμελίην Εὑφορβὸν
'Ατρεΐδης Μενέλαος ἐπεὶ κτάνε, τεύχε' ἐσύλα.

(27) τὰ γὰρ ιστορούμενα περὶ τῆς ἐν Μυκήναις ἀνακειμένης σὺν Τρωϊκοῖς
70 λαφύροις τῇ Ἀργείᾳ "Ἡρα Εὐφόρβου τοῦ Φρυγὸς τούτου ἀσπίδος παρίεμεν ὡς
πάνυ δημώδῃ. Καύκασον δ' ἔφασαν τὸν ποταμὸν σὺν πολλοῖς τῶν ἑταίρων
διαβαίνοντά ποτε προσειπεῖν· καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς γεγωνός τι καὶ τρανὸν
ἀπεφθέγξατο πάντων ἀκουόντων "χαῖρε Πυθαγόρα". μιᾶ δὲ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ
75 ἐν τε Μεταποντίᾳ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ ἐν Ταυρομενίῳ τῆς Σικελίας συγγεγονέναι
καὶ διειλέχθαι κοινῇ τοῖς ἐκατέρωθι ἑταίροις αὐτὸν διαβεβαιοῦνται σχεδὸν
ἄπαντες, <σταδίων> ἐν μεταιχμίῳ παμπόλλων καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ
θάλατταν ὑπαρχόντων οὐδ' ἡμέραις ἀνυσίμων πάνυ πολλαῖς. (28) τὸ μὲν γὰρ
80 ὅτι τὸν μηρὸν χρυσῶν ἐπέδειξεν Ἀβάριδι τῷ Υπερβορέῳ εἰκάσαντι αὐτὸν
Ἀπόλλωνα εἶναι τὸν ἐν Υπερβορέοις, οὐπερ ἦν ιερεὺς ὁ Ἀβαρις, βεβαιοῦντα
ώς τοῦτο ἀληθές, τεθρύληται· καὶ ὅτι νεώς καταπλεούσης καὶ τῶν φίλων
εὐχομένων τὰ κομιζόμενα γενέσθαι αὐτοῖς ὁ Πυθαγόρας εἴπεν "Ἐσται τοίνυν
νῦμιν νεκρός", καὶ ή ναῦς κατέπλευσεν ἔχουσα νεκρόν. μυρία δ' ἔτερα
θαυμαστότερα καὶ θειότερα περὶ τάνδρὸς ὄμαλῶς καὶ συμφώνως εἰρηται. ὡς

⁵⁷ ἀπέφαινεν *Iambl.* § 63 : ἀπέφηνεν *codd.* ⁵⁸ ἀνέμελπε *Iambl.* *ibid.* : ἀπέπεμπεν *codd.* ⁶² ὅθ'
edd. : ὅτε θ' *codd.* ⁷¹ Καύκασον *codd.*, *Cyrill. c. Iul. 3 p. 87 A-B* : Νέσσον *Iambl.* § 134 : καὶ
Κάσσον *Burkert (1962: 118 n. 134)* ⁷² γεγωνός *codd.* : -όν *Iambl.* *ibid.* ⁷³ ἀπεφθέγξατο *codd.* :
ἀν- *Cyrill. c. Iul. 3 p. 87 A* ⁷⁵ αὐτὸν *Nauck* : -ῷ *codd.* ⁷⁶ σταδίων *add.* *Iambl.*
ibid. || παμπόλλων *Iambl.* *ibid.* : παμπόλ(λ)ῷ *codd.* ⁸¹ εἴπεν *Holstenius* : -εῖν *codd.* || ἔσται
VLW : ἔστι BM

they had to stay out of the water for such a long time during the count.
(26) He reminded many of those he met about the former life their soul had
led long ago, before it was chained to the present body. And by unquestionable proofs he showed that he himself had been Euphorbus, the son of
Panthous. And of the Homeric verses these are the ones he sang most of all,
accompanying his song on the lyre in most beautiful manner:

"His hair, similar to that of the Graces, and his locks bound tightly
with gold and silver threads were moistened by his blood.
Like a luxuriant young olive plant, which is raised by someone
in a lonely place, where water gushes up in abundance,
beautiful and flourishing, the breezes of
various winds shake it, and it swells with white bloom,
but suddenly a wind comes with a mighty storm,
roots it out from the pit and puts it to the ground.
such was the son of Panthous, Euphorbus of the ashen spear,
when Menelaus, son of Atreus, killed him and stripped him of his
weapons."

(27) The story, however, about the shield of this Phrygian Euphorbus, which
was set up in Mycenae together with the Trojan booty to the Argive Hera,
I can pass over in silence, since it is well-known. And they say that he once
addressed the river Caucasus when he was crossing it with many of his
disciples, and the river answered in a sonorous and clear voice so that all
could hear it: "Welcome Pythagoras". And nearly all authors confirm that,
on one and the same day, he stayed at Metapont in Italy and at
Tauromenium in Sicily and spoke publicly to his pupils in both cities,
though there is a distance of many miles on land and sea between them,
which takes many days to traverse. (28) It is, moreover, a commonplace that
he showed his golden thigh to Abaris the Hyperborean who supposed that
he was the Hyperborean Apollo, whose priest Abaris was, proving that it was
true, and that Pythagoras said when a ship arrived and his pupils prayed that
its cargo should be theirs: "So you will get a corpse", and the ship put ashore
with a dead body on board. And countless other even more marvellous and
divine things are told about him consistently and unanimously. In a word,

<δ> ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, κατ' οὐδενὸς ὑπενοήθη πλείονα οὐδὲ περιττότερα.
 85 (29) προρρήσεις τε γὰρ ἀπαράβατοι σεισμῶν διαιμημονεύονται αὐτοῦ καὶ λοι-
 μῶν ἀποτροπαὶ σὺν τάχει καὶ ἀνέμων βιαίων χαλαζῶν τ' ἐκχύσεως καταστο-
 λαὶ καὶ κυμάτων ποταμίων τε καὶ θαλασσίων ἀπευδιασμοὶ πρὸς εὑμαρῆ τῶν
 90 ἔταιρων διάβασιν. ὃν μεταλαβόντας Ἐμπεδοκλέα (31 A 13 DK) τε καὶ
 Ἐπιμενίδην (457 T 3) καὶ "Αβαριν πολλαχῆ ἐπιτετελέκεναι τοιαῦτα· δῆλα δ'
 95 αὐτῶν τὰ ποιήματα ὑπάρχει. ἄλλως δὲ καὶ ἀλεξάνεμος μὲν ἦν τὸ ἐπώνυμον
 Ἐμπεδοκλέους, καθαρτῆς δὲ τὸ Ἐπιμενίδου, αἰθροβάτης δὲ τὸ Ἀβάριδος, ὅτι
 ἄρα ὥιστῷ τοῦ ἐν Υπερβορέοις Ἀπόλλωνος δωρηθέντι αὐτῷ ἐποχούμενος
 ποταμούς τε καὶ πελάγη καὶ τὰ ἄβατα διέβαινεν ἀεροβατῶν τρόπον τινά. ὅπερ
 100 ὑπενόησαν καὶ Πυθαγόραν τινὲς πεπονθέναι τότε ἡνίκα ἐν Μεταποντίῳ
 καὶ ἐν Ταυρομενίῳ τοῖς ἐκατέρωθι ἐταίροις ὡμίλησε τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ.
 (30) κατεκήλει δὲ ῥυθμοῖς καὶ μέλεσι καὶ ἐπφθαῖς τὰ ψυχικὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ
 σωματικά. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐταίροις ἡρμόζετο ταῦτα, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς
 ἀρμονίας ἡκροάτο συνιεὶς τῆς καθολικῆς τῶν σφαιρῶν καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὰς
 κινούμενων ἀστέρων ἀρμονίας, ἥς ἡμᾶς μὴ ἀκούειν διὰ σμικρότητα τῆς
 φύσεως. τούτοις καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς (31 B 129 DK) μαρτυρεῖ λέγων περὶ αὐτοῦ·
 105 ἦν δέ τις ἐν κείνοισιν ἀνήρ περιώσια εἰδώς,
 ὃς δὴ μήκιστον πραπίδων ἐκτήσατο πλοῦτον,
 παντοίων τε μάλιστα σοφῶν <τ> ἐπιήρανος ἔργων.
 ὄππότε γὰρ πάσησιν ὄρέξαιτο πραπίδεσσιν,
 110 πέιά γε τῶν ὄντων πάντων λεύσσεσκεν ἔκαστα,
 καί τε δέκ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ τ' εἴκοσιν αἰώνεσσιν.

(31) τὸ γὰρ "περιώσια" καὶ "τῶν ὄντων λεύσσεσκεν ἔκαστα" καὶ "πραπίδων
 πλοῦτον" καὶ τὰ ἐοικότα ἐμφαντικὰ μάλιστα τῆς ἔξαιρέτου καὶ ἀκριβεστέρας
 παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διοργανώσεως ἐν τε τῷ ὄρāν καὶ τῷ ἀκούειν καὶ τῷ νοεῖν
 110 τοῦ Πυθαγόρου. τὰ δ' οὖν τῶν ἐπτὰ ἀστέρων φθέγματα καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀπλανῶν,
 ἔτι δὲ τὰ τῆς ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς λεγομένης κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀντίχθονος τὰς ἐννέα Μούσας
 εἶναι διεβεβαιούτο. τὴν δὲ πασῶν ὅμα σύγκρασιν καὶ συμφωνίαν καὶ ὥσανει

there is no one about whom more, and more extraordinary, things have been conjectured. (29) There are reported of him predictions of earthquakes, which came to be true, quick averting of plagues, soothings of furious winds and hailstorms, and calmings of the waves of rivers or seas to provide an easy crossing for his disciples. Empedocles, Epimenides, and Abaris are said to have shared these gifts and to have accomplished similar deeds on many occasions, as can be seen from their poems. Moreover, Empedocles was called "avertor of winds", Epimenides "purifier", and Abaris "sky walker", because, riding on an arrow that was given to him by the Hyperborean Apollo, and somehow flying through the air, he crossed rivers, seas and inaccessible regions. Some suppose that this is what Pythagoras did as well, when he conversed with his disciples both at Metapont and Tauromenium on the same day. (30) By the spell of rhythms, songs and incantations he healed psychical and physical diseases. And this task was assigned to his followers, while he himself listened to the harmony of the universe, perceiving the universal harmony of the spheres and the stars moving on them, which we cannot hear, because our nature is too weak. This is also attested by Empedocles who says about him:

"Amongst them there was a man with rare knowledge,
 who had acquired an immense wealth of understanding,
 exceedingly capable of all sorts of wise works.
 Whenever he exerted all his understanding,
 he could easily perceive every single being
 within ten or twenty generations of men."

(31) Here, the expressions "rare" and "he saw every single being" and "wealth of understanding" and the like lay special emphasis upon the fact that Pythagoras was gifted with better and more precise organs than others for seeing, hearing and thinking. He therefore maintained that the voices of the seven planets and of the sphere of the fixed stars, and in addition that of the sphere beyond our senses (which is called antichthon by them), were the nine Muses. And the mingling and concord and, as it were, connection of all

⁸⁴ δ' addidit Westermann ⁹⁰ δὲ VLW: τε BM || ἀλεξάνεμος B^{ac}: ἀλεξάμενος B^b MVLW:
 ἀλεξάνεμας Iambl. § 136. ⁹⁸ συνιεὶς Iambl. § 65 : συνεῖς codd. || κατ' αὐτὰς Iambl. ibid.:
 κατὰ ταῦτας codd. ¹⁰⁰ αὐτοῦ VW: αὐτῆς BM: αὐτῶν L ¹⁰³ τ' add. Wilamowitz ¹⁰⁵ πέιά
 γε codd.: πέι' ὁ γε scripsisse Empedoclem coni. Cobet, Coll. Crit. p. 343 ¹¹⁰ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου codd.:
 om. Iambl. § 67, secl. Nauck ¹¹¹ ἔτι δὲ τὰ τῆς scripsi: ἔτι ταῦτας τε τῆς codd. || λεγομένης B:
 λεγομένης δὲ MVLW || κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀντίχθονος Holstenius : κατὰ τὸν ἀντίχθονας
 codd. ¹¹² σύγκρασιν Rittershausen : σύγκρισιν codd.

σύνδεσμον, ἥσπερ ὡς ἀϊδίου τε καὶ ἀγενήτου μέρος ἐκάστη καὶ ἀπόρροια,
Μνημοσύνην ὠνόμαζεν.

- 115 **2** IAMBL. *Vita Pyth.* 251-253: (...) ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἀριστόξενος (F 18 WEHRLI II) διηγεῖται· Νικόμαχος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα συνομολογεῖ τούτοις, παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἀποδημίαν Πυθαγόρου φησὶ γεγονέναι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ταύτην. (252) ὡς γὰρ Φερεκύδη τὸν Σύριον, διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ γενόμενον, εἰς Δῆλον ἐπορεύθη, νοσοκομήσων τε αὐτὸν περιπετῆ γενόμενον τῷ ἴστορον μένῳ τῆς φθειριάσεως 120 πάθει καὶ κηδεύσων. τότε δὴ οὖν οἱ ἀπογνωσθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτῶν (*sc.* τῶν Πυθαγορείων) καὶ στηλιτευθέντες ἐπέθεντο αὐτοῖς καὶ πάντας πανταχῇ ἐνέπρησαν, αὐτοὶ τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν κατελεύσθησαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἔξερριφησαν ἄταφοι. τότε δὴ οὖν συνεπιλιπεῖν συνέβαινε τὴν ἐπιστήμην τοῖς 125 ἐπισταμένοις, ἅτε δὴ ἄρρητον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς στήθεσι διαφυλαχθεῖσαν μέχρι τότε, τὰ δὲ δυσσύνετα μόνα καὶ ἀδιάπτυκτα παρὰ τοῖς ἔξω διαμνημονεύεσθαι συνέβη, πλὴν ὀλίγων πάνυ, ὅσα τινὲς ἐν ἀλλοδημίαις τότε τυχόντες διέσωσαν ζώπυρα ἄττα πάνυ ἀμυδρὰ καὶ δυσθήρατα. (253) καὶ οὗτοι 130 γάρ μοναθέντες καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ συμβάντι οὐ μετρίως ἀθυμήσαντες διεσπάρησαν μὲν ἄλλος ἄλλαχῇ, καὶ οὐκέτι κοινωνεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ τινὶ λόγου τὸ παράπαν 135 ὑπέμενον, μονάζοντες δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἐρημίαις, ὅπου ἀν τύχῃ, καὶ κατάκλειστοι τὰ πολλὰ τὴν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔκαστος συνουσίαν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἡσμένιζον. διευλαβούμενοι δὲ μὴ παντελῶς ἔξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπόληται τὸ φιλοσοφίας ὄνομα καὶ θεοῖς αὐτοὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπεχθάνωνται, διολέσαντες ἄρδην τὸ τηλικοῦτον αὐτῶν δῶρον, ὑπομνήματά τινα κεφαλαιώδη καὶ συμβολικὰ συνταξάμενοι τά 140 τέ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων συγγράμματα καὶ ὡν διεμέμηντο συναλίσαντες κατέλιπον ἔκαστος οὐπερ ἐτύγχανε τελευτῶν, ἐπισκήψαντες νιοῖς ἢ θυγατράσιν ἢ γυναιξὶ μηδενὶ δόμεναι τῶν ἐκτὸς τᾶς οἰκίας. οἱ δὲ μέχρι παμπόλλου χρόνου τοῦτο διετήρησαν, ἐκ διαδοχῆς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐντολὴν 145 ἐπιστέλλουσαι τοῖς ἐπιγόνοις.

- 140 **3** PORPHYR. *Vita Pyth.* 57-61: (...) τῆς δὲ συμφορᾶς οὕτως κατασχούσης τοὺς ἄνδρας συνεξέλειπεν καὶ ἡ ἐπιστήμη ἄρρητος ἐν τοῖς στήθεσι διαφυλαχθεῖσα ὥχρι τότε, μόνων τῶν δυσσυνέτων παρὰ τοῖς ἔξω διαμνημονευομένων. οὔτε

of them, of which each as of an eternal and everlasting being is part and emanation, he called Mnemosyne.

2 (251) (...) This is told by Aristoxenus. Nicomachus agrees with it in all other respects, but says that this conspiracy took place when Pythagoras was abroad: (252) He had gone to Delos to his former teacher Pherecydes of Syrus to tend him, since he had fallen ill with the disease called phteiriasis, and to bury him. At this time those who had been rejected by them (*sc.* the Pythagoreans) and had been exposed to public ignominy fell upon them and everywhere set fire to them all. On top of this, they were stoned to death by the Italians and their bodies cast off without burial. It therefore then came about that this knowledge perished together with those who possessed it, because they had been kept it secret in their hearts until that time, and only the difficult and unintelligible parts were remembered by those outside the sect, with the rare exception of some very faint and hardly visible sparks that had been preserved by those who had been abroad at that time. (253) And these people, isolated and very dejected about what had happened, dispersed to different places and could not bear at all to communicate with mankind in future. Living anywhere in solitude and seclusion each preferred his own company to the rest of the world. They did, however, take care that the name of philosophy should not become entirely lost from mankind and that they should therefore incur the wrath of the gods because they had utterly ruined their great gift. Thus, they composed some sketchy and symbolic commentaries collecting the writings of the older men and what they themselves remembered, and left them behind where they happened to die, instructing their sons or daughters or wives not to give them to anyone outside the household. And their families observed this custom for a very long time, handing down the same order from generation to generation.

3 (57) (...) After the disaster had struck the men in this a way, their knowledge perished with them, because it had been kept secret in their hearts until that moment, and only what was difficult to comprehend was remembered

¹²⁰ ὑπ' Küster : ἀπ' F ¹²⁴ ὑπ' Küster : ἐπ' F ¹²⁹ ἄλλαχῇ F : -οῦ Porphyr. § 58

¹³⁶ κατέλιπον F : -εν Porphyr. *ibid.* || ἐτύγχανε Porphyr. *ibid.* : -ον F ¹³⁸ ταύτην om. Porphyr. *ibid.*

¹³⁹ ἐπιγόνοις F : ἀπογ- Porphyr. *ibid.*

γὰρ αὐτοῦ Πυθαγόρου σύγγραμμα (64 A 2 DK) ἦν, οἵ τε ἐκφυγόντες Λῦσίς τε καὶ Ἀρχιππος καὶ ὅσοι ἀποδημοῦντες ἐτύγχανον, ὀλίγα διέσωσαν ζώπυρα τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀμυδρά τε καὶ δυσθήρατα. (58 ~ F 2, § 253). (59) τεκμηραίμεθα δ' ἄν, φησὶν Νικόμαχος, περὶ τοῦ μὴ παρέργως αὐτοὺς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐκκλίνειν φιλίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ σπουδαίως περικάμπτειν αὐτὰς καὶ φυλάττεσθαι καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ μέχρι πολλῶν γενεῶν τὸ φιλικὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀνένδοτον αὐτοὺς διατετηρηκέναι, ἐξ ὧν Ἀριστόξενος (F 31 WEHRLI II) ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Πυθαγορείου βίου αὐτὸς διακηκοέναι φησὶν Διονυσίου τοῦ Σικελίας τυράννου, ὅτ' ἐκπεσὼν τῆς μοναρχίας γράμματα ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἐδίδασκεν. φησὶ δ' οὕτως: (...) (61) καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀριστόξενος ὡς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀκούσας Διονυσίου ἀπήγγειλεν. Ἰππόβοτος δὲ καὶ Νεάνθης περὶ Μυλλίου καὶ Τιμύχας ιστοροῦσι <...>.

¹⁴⁵⁻¹⁴⁶ δ' ἄν Nauck (cf. Iambl. § 233) : δὲ BM ¹⁴⁹ ἐξ BM : καὶ ἐξ Nauck ¹⁵⁰ Πυθαγορείου B : Πυθαγόρου M : Πυθαγορικοῦ Iambl. § 233 ¹⁵⁴ ex Iambl. §§ 189-194 supplenda

by those outside the sect. There was no written work of Pythagoras himself, and the members who had escaped death—Lysis and Archippus and all those who had been abroad—, had only saved some faint and scarcely visible sparks of the philosophy. (58 ~ F 2, § 253) (59) That they avoided friendship with other people not only incidentally, but even took great pains to dodge and evade it, while they maintained an unyielding friendship between themselves for many generations, you may learn, according to Nicomachus, from what Aristoxenus in his *Pythagorean Life* claims to have heard from Dionysius, the Sicilian tyrant, when he had lost his monarchy and was an elementary teacher in Corinth. He says as follows: (...) (61) (...) That is what Aristoxenus reports to have heard from Dionysius himself. But Hippobitus and Neanthes tell us about Myllias and Timycha <...>.

1063. Nicomachus of Gerasa
(1st 2nd cent. A.D.)

Introduction

The Middle Platonist Nicomachus of Gerasa lived from the 1st to the 2nd century A.D.¹ A *terminus post quem* is provided by his mention of the Tiberian mathematician Thrasyllus², a *terminus ante quem* by Apuleius, who is said to have translated his *Introduction to Arithmetic* into Latin³. Thus N. seems to have already been famous around the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D.⁴ Several of N.s scientific works are still extant. Apart from his *Introduction to Arithmetic* and his *Manual of Harmonics* large parts of his Θεολογούμενα ἀριθμητικῆς survive in the excerpts of Photius (cod. 187) and Iamblichus⁵. N. himself also refers to another mathematical treatise, an *Introduction to Geometry*, of which no trace remains⁶. All extant works clearly show N.s affiliation to Neo-Pythagorean thought. Thus, it is not surprising that he also wrote about Pythagoras. Although no title is mentioned, the contents of the surviving parts sufficiently prove that this work was a kind of biography⁷. It might even have formed the first part of an encyclopedia of Pythagorean thought⁸. “His works, then, constitute an introduction to Pythagorean ‘science’, together with an account of the Founder, a project repeated a hundred years or so later (...) by the Neo-Platonist Iamblichus.”⁹ In his biography N. relied heavily on the works of Hellenistic authorities like Aristoxenus, though he probably did not consult these directly, but rather would have known them in an

¹ Cf. on N. especially D' OOGHE (1926: 71-137); DILLON (1977: 352-361); BERTIER (1978: 7-10); TARÁN (1974: 112-113); O' MEARA (1989: 14-23).

² NICOM. *Harm.* 11 p. 260,16 JAN.

³ CASSIOD. *Inst. div. litt.* 2,4,7; 2,5,10; cf. D' OOGHE (1926: 124-125); SCHMIDT in *HLL* IV (1997: 313).

⁴ [LUCIAN.] *Philopatr.* 12 does not provide any dating criteria, since it belongs to Byzantine times; contra TARÁN (1974: 112).

⁵ Cf. D' OOGHE (1926: 84-87); DILLON (1976: 352-353).

⁶ NICOM. *Intr. arithm.* 2,6,1. Cf. also D' OOGHE (1926: 79-81), who discusses the evidence for further works showing them to be spurious.

⁷ *Contra* TARÁN (1974: 113 n. 4), cf. e.g. D' OOGHE (1926: 79).

⁸ This also seems to be suggested by SYRIAN. *In Arist. Metaph.* p. 1078 b 7 (CAG 6,1 p. 103,6 KROLL), who refers to N.s work as συναγωγαὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων δογμάτων, cf. ZELLER III 2 (1903: 124 n. 3).

⁹ DILLON (1977: 353); see also DÖRRIE (1963: 276): “die Pythagoras-Biographie wächst zur Enzyklopädie des gesamten Pythagoreismus heran.”

adapted form from handbooks such as those of Neanthes or Hippobotus¹⁰. This also seems to be suggested by his style. In those parts where he follows his sources closely, he uses a smooth verbal style with only few hiatus, whereas in sections which seem to be mainly his own work, his writing tends to display a preponderance of nouns, becomes clumsy and contains frequent hiatus. N.s biography of Pythagoras was used as a source by Porphyry and Iamblichus independently in their respective lives of the philosopher¹¹. However, it is difficult to determine the exact extent to which they drew upon it. In the case of the printed fragments the Nicomachean origin is certain, because his name is given and there are exact verbal parallels between Porphyry and Iamblichus¹². The attribution of further fragments to N. remains hypothetical, although in some cases it seems very plausible¹³.

Commentary on the Fragments

(1) The beginning of the fragment is difficult to determine. It possibly begins with the quotation from Dicaearchus (§ 18). There is no clear break before § 20 regarding the content, and the expression ἦν ἐπιβάς τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐποίησε seems to refer back to the beginning of § 18 ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπέβη. Furthermore, the §§ 18-22 are stylistically quite

¹⁰ BURKERT (1962: 90-91).

¹¹ See ROHDE II (1901: 125-127); BURKERT (1962: 87).

¹² Thus, PORPHYR. *Vita Pyth.* § 20-31 (F 1) is equivalent to IAMBL. *Vita Pyth.* §§ 30; 33; 241; 34; 60; 61; 62; 36; 63; 134-135; 142; 136; 67; PORPHYR. §§ 59-61 (F 3) to IAMBL. §§ 233-237; and in turn IAMBL. §§ 251-253 (F 2) to PORPHYR. 55 p. 47,18-48,1 N.; 57 (p. 49,15)-58; cf. BURKERT (1962: 87 n. 7).

¹³ In the case of Porphyry it seems quite likely that PORPHYR. 54-55 should also be attributed entirely to Nicomachus, because there are also verbal parallels between IAMBL. 248 p. 133,12-14, cf. BURKERT (1962: 87 n. 7). This is not the place for a detailed analysis of Porphyry's work. However, it seems to me that N. should be identified with what is called source 1 by ROHDE II (1901: 125-126) and thus should also be attributed to him PORPHYR. 1-9 and 56-57. In the case of Iamblichus ROHDE II (1901: 102-172) postulated that his work was based on only two sources: Apollonius and N., to whom he attributed the following sections: 25 (p. 15,21 D.)-27; 30-34; 36 (p. 21,1-14); 58-62 (p. 34,3); 64-67; 74-78; 81 (p. 46,22)-89 (p. 52,11); 94-102; 106-121; 129-130 (p. 74,3); 132-133 (p. 75,19); 134 (p. 76,6)-136 (p. 77,9); 141-144 (p. 80,26); 145; 147; 149-150; 159-160; 163-166 (p. 93,23); 184; 189-194; 196-198 (p. 109,3); 200-213 (p. 116,1); 230 (p. 124,1)-239; 248-253. His opinion was slightly modified by LÉVY (1926: 103-104; 111-117), who showed that Iamblichus also used a third source and besides this referred to other works of N.; cf. also BURKERT (1962: 89).

polished and show only a few hiatus¹⁴. Since N. himself did not avoid the hiatus so rigidly (cf. e.g. § 31), it may be due to the fact that N. took §§ 18-22 from a source which originally avoided it¹⁵. (20-22) This section gives an account of Pythagoras' first activities in Italy. It starts (21) with the foundation of the ὁμακοεῖον¹⁶ and the Pythagorean colonization of Italy, which is said to be called *Magna Graecia* after the Pythagoreans¹⁷, and goes on to say that Pythagoras was worshipped by his pupils like a god. To prove this, an "old" Pythagorean oath is then provided. However, the two verses in which Pythagoras is referred to as the inventor of the tetractys¹⁸ seem to show Empedoclean influence¹⁹. There then follows a short account of Pythagoras' "political" activities. Several Italian and Sicilian cities are mentioned as having submitted to Pythagorean influence. The whole passage smacks of Aristoxenus²⁰, who is also explicitly quoted in § 22 and is known to have mentioned Charondas and Zaleucus elsewhere²¹, though as in the case of Dicaearchus the exact extent of the quotation is difficult to determine. Since the mention of Tauromenium (founded in only 403 b.c.) could well be a piece of Timaean local patriotism²², it is perhaps best to assume a post-Timaean collective source (Neanthes?). The story that Simichus, the tyrant of Centuripe, handed over his power to the citizens under the influence of Pythagorean doctrine, is also anachronistic, since the settlements of the Siculi did not have the structure of a polis at that time²³. (23-31) This section gives a list of Pythagoras' miracles. Stylistically it is very variable. Besides smooth running passages there are

¹⁴ There are some instances in §§ 18-19 (even in the quotation from Dicaearchus). However, these occur mainly in passages which may well be later additions. The most striking examples are in § 18 p. 26,6 τοῦ θούς in § 19 p. 27,1-2 καὶ ὅτι πάντα τὰ γνώμενα ἐμψυχά ὁμογενῆ δεῖ (Holstener; δὲ codd.) νομίζειν.

¹⁵ It is hard to say whether §§ 18-21 all go back to Dicaearchus. Since there seems to be some Timaeen influence, one should think rather of another Hellenistic source like Neanthes.

¹⁶ See BURKERT (1962: 159).

¹⁷ Perhaps the connection was first established by Timaeus, cf. BURKERT (1962: 92 n. 34).

¹⁸ See BURKERT (1962: 63-64).

¹⁹ See BURKERT (1962: 170).

²⁰ VON FRITZ (1940: 18); F 17 WEHRLI II.

²¹ F 43 WEHRLI II.

²² Cf. also BURKERT (1962: 184 n. 66) who only attributes § 22 p. 28,11-13 to Aristoxenus, because he does not want to credit him with the anachronism. However, the mention of Zaleucus and Charondas and the story of Damon and Phintias show that Aristoxenus was not particularly concerned about chronology.

²³ BERVE II (1967: 607).

also some which lack any polish at all. The miracles appear to be ordered roughly according to their content: First stand miracles concerning animals (23-25), then come those regarding Pythagoras' divine nature (26-29), while finally there is a section on his knowledge of the harmony of spheres (30-31). There are a number of differences between this and the other catalogues of Pythagoras' miracles²⁴, which seem to go back ultimately to Aristotle. Especially remarkable is the fact that in N. the wonders are often connected with some special Pythagorean doctrine. Thus, Pythagoras tames a bear in Daunia teaching him not to eat meat any more (23)²⁵, and prevents an ox in Tarentum from eating beans (24)²⁶. In Olympia he strokes an eagle²⁷, which is used to confirm Pythagoras' lecture on divine signs, while on the beach between Sybaris and Croton²⁸ he guesses the correct number of fish and makes the fishermen throw them back into the water (25)²⁹. Then N. turns to the Pythagorean doctrine of reincarnation (26-27). First he tells how Pythagoras also told others of their former lives. This is probably a reference to the legend that he once told Myllias at Croton that he had been King Midas³⁰. Then N. mentions the well-known fact that Pythagoras regarded himself as the reincarnation of the Trojan Euphorbus³¹. To prove it he states that Pythagoras liked to quote the Homeric verses about Euphorbus' death and recognized Euphorbus' shield at Argos/Mycenae, cutting short the latter story as πάντα δημάδη³². Further evidence for Pythagoras' superhuman powers is found in the legend that Pythagoras was once welcomed by the river Caucasus (27)³³. The name of the river is plainly wrong. It was probably the Kasas³⁴, a river near Metapont,

²⁴ Cf. APOLLON. *Mir.* 6; AEL. *Var. hist.* 2,26; 4,17 (= 14,7 DK).

²⁵ Cf. also APOLLON. *Mir.* 6; IAMBL. *Vita Pyth.* 142.

²⁶ This miracle has no parallel. Most interesting is the connection of the ox with the local cult of Hera. Maybe this is one of Aristoxenus' stories.

²⁷ Cf. AEL. *Var. hist.* 4,17; PLUT. *Numa* 8; AMM. MARC. 22,16,21; IAMBL. *Vita Pyth.* 142 who makes the miracle happen in Croton.

²⁸ The location is given in the parallel version of IAMBL. *Vita Pyth.* 36. Porphyry seems to have slightly abbreviated N.s account.

²⁹ For a slightly different version see PLUT. *Quaest. conv.* 8,8,3 p. 729 D-E, *De cap. ex inim.* 9 p. 91 C.

³⁰ AEL. *Var. hist.* 4,17; IAMBL. *Vita Pyth.* 143; cf. BURKERT (1962: 118 n. 132).

³¹ Cf. on Euphorbus and his shield BURKERT (1962: 114-117, especially 116 n. 121).

³² The frequency of serious hiatus is remarkable. These are obviously N.s own words.

³³ AEL. *Var. hist.* 2,26; APOLLON. *Mir.* 6; DIOG. LAERT. 8,11; IAMBL. *Vita Pyth.* 134.

³⁴ DIELS (1898: 334-335); LÉVY (1926: 13).

and Καύκασον should be regarded as a misreading of καὶ Κάσον³⁵. It is difficult to tell when this error originated. However, Iamblichus in his parallel account in § 134 gives the reading Νέοσον. This might suggest that he could not read N.s words and therefore chose a variant from other handbooks³⁶, whereas Porphyry mistook it for the Caucasus. In any case this passage clearly proves that Iamblichus is independent of Porphyry. There now follows the story that Pythagoras was in both Metapont and Tauromenium on the same day (27 p. 31,12-17). The cities involved are usually Metapont and Croton³⁷. The anachronistic mention of Tauromenium is again due most probably to Timaeus³⁸. Furthermore, a passing reference is added that Pythagoras showed his golden thigh to Abaris proving thus that he was the Hyperborean Apollo (28 p. 31,18-32,2). In this story three different early motifs are combined: 1. that Pythagoras was regarded as the Hyperborean Apollo by the Crotoniates³⁹. 2. that he had a golden thigh⁴⁰. 3. that he met Abaris⁴¹. The list of single miracles closes with the story that Pythagoras foretold that there was a corpse on an approaching ship (28 p. 32,2-5) showing his powers of divination⁴². Finally there follows a general account of how Pythagoras could control natural phenomena (29 p. 32,6-13) leading up to some loosely connected statements about his “pupils” Abaris, Epimenides⁴³, and Empedocles (29 p. 32,13-21). The whole section ends with a chapter on Pythagoras’ knowledge about the harmony of the spheres (30-31). Again the transition is quite abrupt. This section clearly shows N.s Neo-Pythagorean interests. Regarding content and style it must be very much his own work. In § 31 especially there are a number of hiatus. The excessive use of nouns appears quite clumsy. Pythagoras’ divine knowledge is confirmed by a quotation from Empedocles, which is interpreted in a special way. Although the con-

³⁵ BURKERT (1962: 118 n. 134).

³⁶ Cf. DIOG. LAERT. 8,11. Maybe Iamblichus even found the variant in his copy of N.

³⁷ Cf. AEL. *Var. hist.* 2,26; 4,17; APOLLON. *Mir.* 6; cf. BURKERT (1962: 118 n. 130).

³⁸ LÉVY (1926: 57); see also BURKERT (1962: 93 n. 37).

³⁹ AEL. *Var. hist.* 2,26; DIOG. LAERT. 8,11; LAMBL. *Vita Pyth.* 140.

⁴⁰ AEL. *Var. hist.* 2,26; 4,17; APOLLON. *Mir.* 6; DIOG. LAERT. 8,11; LAMBL. *Vita Pyth.* 140; cf. BURKERT (1962: 118 n. 131) for further parallels.

⁴¹ LAMBL. *Vita Pyth.* 140; cf. LÉVY (1926: 14-15); BURKERT (1962: 119 n. 139).

⁴² Cf. APOLLON. *Mir.* 6; LAMBL. *Vita Pyth.* 142.

⁴³ On the “shamans” Abaris and Epimenides cf. BURKERT (1962: 126-128). That Abaris flew on an arrow is first attested by HERACLIDES F 51c WEHRLI VII. The story may be much older.

nection of Empedocles’ words with Pythagoras is quite old⁴⁴, their ludicrous interpretation seems to be N.s own work. The same applies to the following statement that Pythagoras identified the seven planets, the sphere of the fixed stars and the antichthon with the nine Muses and called their harmony Mnemosyne. Although the single elements of the theory are quite old⁴⁵, the system is unique and without doubt a late invention⁴⁶.

(2) The section contains two different excerpts from N. which were combined by Iamblichus. The first gives N.s opinion where Pythagoras stayed during the Cylonian attack. The second is concerned with the end of the Pythagoreans and the transmission of their σύμβολα⁴⁷. Most puzzling is Iamblichus’ introductory statement that N. agreed with Aristoxenus in everything except his claim that the Cylonian attack happened when Pythagoras was absent. This seems to imply that Aristoxenus said the attack took place in Pythagoras’ presence. In § 248, however, Iamblichus remarks that all authors agreed that Pythagoras was absent and were only divided on the question of whether he stayed at Delos or in Metapont. The confusion is probably due to Iamblichus’ arbitrary working method, as is shown by comparison with Porphyry’s account⁴⁸. Porphyry tells us that there were two versions of the Cylonian attack. Some authors said that it happened in Pythagoras’ absence, when Pythagoras was staying with Pherecydes at Delos, whereas Dicaearchus and the more precise authors (οἱ ὀκριβέστεροι) told that Pythagoras was present at the time of the first attack and withdrew to Metapont only afterwards. Both versions are also given by Iamblichus, but in reverse order. Porphyry’s second version is given first in §§ 248-251⁴⁹, whereas in F 2 the first version follows, which is attributed to Nicomachus. The confusion thus appears to be limited to Iamblichus’ general introduction in § 248. N.s own view, however, remains uncertain despite Iamblichus. It is possible that he merely listed the different opinions.

⁴⁴ Cf. DIOG. LAERT. 8,54 (= TIMAEUS *FGrHist* 566 F 14). Timaeus referred Empedocles’ word to Pythagoras, other authors to Parmenides.

⁴⁵ Cf. on it BURKERT (1962: 215-216).

⁴⁶ Cf. BURKERT (1962: 332, especially n. 107).

⁴⁷ On the symbola and akusmata see especially BURKERT (1962: 150-175).

⁴⁸ PORPHYR. *Vita Pyth.* 54-58.

⁴⁹ In comparison to Porphyry Iamblichus cuts short the account on Pythagoras himself, but rather dwells on his pupils. The whole section may be based on Aristoxenus, cf. F 18 WEHRLI II; VON FRITZ (1940: 14-16). However, it is far from coherent, and one may well think that it was composed by Iamblichus himself from various sources.

(3) The fragment reveals a lot about the character of N.s work. N. must have given an extensive doxography, largely quoting from Hellenistic authors. The named fragment only contains Aristoxenus' account⁵⁰ of the famous story of Damon and Phintias. Moreover, Hippobotus and Neanthes are referred to. However, Porphyry's excerpt from N. may begin much earlier. Since Porphyry §§ 54-55 shows some remarkable verbal parallels with Iamblichus⁵¹, it seems quite likely that § 54 is a piece of N. and that the quotation from Dicaearchus from § 56 onwards should be attributed to him as well.

⁵⁰ Cf. F 31 WEHRLI II. Aristoxenus' account is quite implausible. Dionysius' test presupposes that Phintias would call someone to go bail for him.

⁵¹ PORPHYR. 54 p. 46,24-47,2 = IAMBL. 248 p. 133,12-14; PORPHYR. 55 p. 47,18-48,1 = IAMBL. 135,10-17.

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1064. Apollonius of Tyana

(1st cent. A.D.)

T

1 LUCIAN. *Alex.* 5: ἦν δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐραστὴς τὸ γένος Τυανεύς, τῶν Ἀπολλωνίων τῷ [Τυανεῖ] πάνυ συγγενομένων καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τραγῳδίαν εἰδότων.

2 DIO CASS. 67,18,1: ὃ δ' εἶπον ὅτι ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰλλα θαυμάσας ἔχω,
5 τόδ' ἔστιν. Ἀπολλώνιος τις Τυανεὺς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ τῇ ὥρᾳ αὐτῇ
ἐκείνῃ, ἐν ᾧ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἐσφάτετο — τοῦτο γάρ ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν
γενομένων ἡκριβώθη — ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τινα λίθον ὑψηλὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, ἢ καὶ
έτερῳ, καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος ταῦτα εἶπε: “καλῶς Στέφανε, εὖ γε
Στέφανε: παῖε τὸν μιαιφόνον. ἔπληξας, ἔτρωσας, ἀπέκτεινας”. τοῦτο μὲν
10 οὕτως ἐγένετο, καν μυριάκις τις ἀπιστήσῃ.

3 PORPHYR. *Abst.* 3,3 p. 189,23 N.: καίτοι εὶ δεῖ πιστεύειν τοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ
τοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν πατέρων γεγονόσιν, εἰσὶν οἱ λέγονται ἐπακοῦσαι καὶ
σύνεσιν ἔχειν τῆς τῶν ζῴων φθέγξεως: ὡς ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν παλαιῶν ὁ Μελάμπους
καὶ ὁ Τειρεσίας καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι, οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τυανεύς, ἐφ'
15 οὐ καὶ λέγεται ὅτι τοῖς ἑταίροις συνόντος, χειλιδόνος ἐπιπτάσης καὶ
φθεγγομένης, εἰπεῖν ὅτι μηνύει ἡ χειλιδῶν ταῖς ἄλλαις ὄνον πρὸ τοῦ ἀστεως
πεπτωκέναι σίτου βαστάζοντα φορτίον, ὃ δὴ κεχύσθαι εἰς τὴν γῆν τοῦ
ἀχθοφοροῦντος πεπτωκότος.

4 LACT. *Div. inst.* 5,3,14: stultum igitur est id putare Apollonium noluisse
20 quod optaret utique, si posset, quia nemo est qui immortalitatem recuset,
maxime cum eum dicas “et adoratum esse a quibusdam sicut deum et
simulacrum eius sub Herculis Alexicaci nomine constitutum ab Ephesiis
etiamnunc honorari”.

1064. Apollonius of Tyana

(1st cent. A.D.)

T

1 By origin, that teacher and lover was from Tyana and belonged to the followers of the real Apollonius who knew all his tricks.

2 What amazes me, as I said, more than anything else, is this: On the same day and at exactly the same hour as Domitian was murdered—as was found out afterwards by a comparison of both events—, a certain Apollonius of Tyana climbed onto a high stone in Ephesus, or somewhere else, called the people together and said: “Good, Stephanus! Right so, Stephanus! Strike the murderous tyrant! You have hit him, you have wounded him, you have killed him.” So it happened, even if someone doubts it ten thousand times.

3 However, if we are to believe the ancient authorities and those who lived at our own and our fathers' times, there are said to be some people who understand and know the utterances of animals. In ancient times there were Melampus and Tiresias and other such men, and not long ago Apollonius of Tyana. About him the story goes that, when he was together with his companions and a swallow came flying down twittering, he said that the swallow was telling the others that outside the city an ass carrying a burden of grain had tripped and the grain was spilled on the ground because the carrier had fallen.

4 It is therefore ridiculous to believe that Apollonius should not have wanted what he would have certainly desired if it had been in his power. There is no one who refuses to become immortal, especially since you say yourself that “he was adored like a god by some people and that his statue, set up under the name of Hercules Alexicacus, is honoured by the Ephesians even now.”

² Τυανεῖ del. Fritzsche, cf. Nesselrath (1984: 590; 600) ⁶ ἐκεῖνη VC : fort. delendum cens. Boissévain ¹⁰ ἀπιστήσῃ V : ἀποστ- C ¹⁵ ἐπιπτάσης Felicianus : -στάσης codd. ¹⁶ εἰπεῖν codd. : -εν coni. Reiske

- 5 Dio Cass. 77,18,4 (e libro 78): τοῖς δὲ μάγοις καὶ γόησιν οὔτως ἔχαιρεν (*sc.*
 25 Καράκαλλος) ὡς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Καππαδόκην τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ
 ἀνθήσαντα ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, ὅστις καὶ γόης καὶ μάγος ἀκριβῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ
 ἥρφων αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαι.

6 EPIGR. ADAN. (SEG 28, no. 1251):

[οὗτο]ς Ἀπ[ό]λλωνος μὲν ἐπώνυμος· ἐκ Τυά[νων δ]ὲ
 30 λάμψας ἀνθρώπων ἔσβεσεν ἀμπλακίας.
 [οὐδὲ λό]φος Τυάνων, τὸ δ' ἐτήτυμον οὐρανὸς αὐτὸν
 [πέμψεν, ὅ]πως θνητῶν ἔξελάσιε πόνους.

- 7 Eus. Hierocl. p. 407,27-29 K.: αὐτίκα τῶν νῦν εἰσιν, οἱ περιέργους μηχανὰς
 τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς (*sc.* Ἀπολλωνίου) ἀνακειμένας προσηγορίᾳ κατειληφέναι
 35 λέγουσιν.

- 8 PAP. GRAECAE MAGICAE 11^a (II p. 54 PREISENDANZ): γραῦς Ἀπολλωνίῳ τον
 Τυανέως ύπηρέτις· λαβὼν [Τυ]φῶνος κρανίον κατάγρα[φε τ]οὺς χαρακτῆρας
 τούτους αἴματι κυνὸς μέλανος· κτλ.

- 9 SUDA α 3420 s.v. Ἀπολλώνιος, Τυανεύς, φιλόσοφος, νιὸς Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ
 40 μητρὸς πολίτιδος τῶν ἐπιφανῶν (...). καὶ ἦκμαζε μὲν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου καὶ Γαϊου
 καὶ Νέρωνος καὶ μέχρι Νέρβα, ἐφ' οὐ καὶ μετήλλαξεν. (...) Συνέταξε δὲ
 τοσαῦτα· Τελετὰς ἡ Περὶ θυσιῶν, Διαθήκην, Χρησμούς, Ἐπιστολάς,
 Πινθαγόρου βίον.

- 10 HIST. AUG. Alex. Sev. 29,2: (...) in larario suo, in quo et divos principes et
 optimos electos et animas sanctiores, in quis Apollonium et, quantum
 scriptor suorum temporum dicit, Christum, Abraham et Orfeum et huius-
 modi ceteros habebat ac maiorum effigies, rem divinam faciebat (*sc.* Alexander Severus).

²⁹ οὕτος ... Τυάνων δὲ *suppl.* Dagon - Marcellet-Jaubert; Bowie ³¹ οὐδὲ λόφος *suppl.* Ebert: οὐκ
 ἔδαφος Merkelbach: γαῖα τάος Bowie: σώμα τάφος Jones ³² πέμψεν ὅπως *suppl.* Dagon
 Marcellet-Jaubert: δέξαθ' ὅπως Bowie; Merkelbach ³⁴ larario *edd.*: lario *codd.* || et² *scripti* :
 sed *codd.* ⁴⁶⁻⁴⁷ huiusmodi AR: huius *PCh*: huiuscemodi *edd.*

- 5 He (*sc.* Caracalla) was so fond of magicians and miracle workers that he
 praised and honoured Apollonius of Cappadocia, who lived under Domitian
 and was a miracle worker and magician in the strict sense of the word, and
 built a heroon for him.

6

The man you see is named after Apollo. Shining forth from Tyana
 he extinguished the errors of men.
 Not the hill of Tyana, but heaven, in truth,
 sent him to cure human pains.

- 7 To begin with, there are still some who claim to have come across magic
 contrivances put up in the name of the man (*sc.* Apollonius).

- 8 Old woman, servant of Apollonius of Tyana. Take the skull of Typhon (*i.e.*
 of an ass) and write on it the following letters with the blood of a black dog:
 (...)

- 9 Apollonius of Tyana, philosopher, son of Apollonius and a mother belonging
 to the famous citizens. (...) He lived under Claudius, Gaius, and Nero
 until Nerva, when he died. (...) He wrote the following books: *Teletai* or *On
 Sacrifice*, *A Testament*, *Oracles*, *Epistles*, a *Life of Pythagoras*.

- 10 (...) he (*sc.* Alexander Severus) made sacrifices in his shrine to the lares,
 where he kept not only the divine emperors, but also selected excellent men
 and the holier souls, amongst whom was Apollonius, and, according to an
 author of his times, Christ, Abraham, Orpheus and other similar men, as
 well as the statues of his ancestors.

11 HIST. AUG. *Aur.* 24,2-8: taceri non debet res, quae ad famam venerabilis
 50 viri pertinet. fertur enim Aurelianum de Tyanae civitatis eversione vere
 dixisse, vere cogitasse; verum Apollonium Tyanaeum, celeberrimae famae
 auctoritatisque sapientem, veterem philosophum, amicum vere deorum,
 ipsum etiam pro numine frequentandum, recipienti se in tentorium ea
 55 forma qua videtur, subito adstitisse atque haec Latine, ut homo Pannonius
 intellegerer, verba dixisse: "Aureiane, si vis vincere, nihil est quod de civium
 meorum nece cogites. Aureiane, si vis imperare, a cruento innocentium
 abstine. Aureiane, clementer te age, si vis vivere." norat vultum philosophi
 60 venerabilis Aurelianus atque in multis eius imaginem viderat templis.
 denique statim adtonitus et imaginem et statuas et templum eidem
 promisit atque in meliorem redit mentem. haec ego et a gravibus viris
 conperi et in Ulpiae bibliothecae libris relegi et pro maiestate Apollonii
 magis credidi. quid enim illo viro sanctius, venerabilius, antiquius
 65 diviniusque inter homines fuit? ille mortuis reddidit vitam, ille multa ultra
 homines et fecit et dixit. quac qui velit nosse, Graecos legat libros, qui de
 eius vita conscripti sunt.

F

ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΟΥ ΒΙΟΣ

1 PORPHYR. *Vita Pyth.* 2: 'Απολλώνιος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ μητέρᾳ
 ἀναγράφει Πυθαῖδα, ἀπόγονον Ἀγκαίου τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ τῆς Σάμου. τινὰς δ'
 'Απόλλωνος αὐτὸν ἴστορειν καὶ Πυθαῖδος τῷ γόνῳ, λόγῳ δὲ Μνησάρχου φησὶν
 'Απολλώνιος. τῶν γοῦν ποιητῶν τῶν Σαμίων εἰπεῖν τίνα·
 70 Πυθαγόραν θ' ὃν ἔτικτε Διὺς φίλον 'Απόλλωνι
 Πυθαῖς, ἡ κάλλος πλεῖστον ἔχεν Σαμίων.
 διακοῦσαι δ' οὐ μόνον Φερεκύδουν καὶ Ἐρμοδάμαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 Ἀναξιμάνδρου φησὶν οὗτος.

⁵⁰ Tyanae *edd.*: Thyane *codd.* ⁵¹ Tyanaeum *edd. recte, sed cf.* Phaedr. Fab. 5,1 : Thyaneum *codd.* ⁵² vere Kellenbauer, Petschenig : vir *Pw ChV*: virum *RPhc*: verum *vulgo* ⁵³ numine *edd.* : nomine *PΣ* ⁵⁹ eidem *ChV*: idem *P* ⁶¹ et¹ *Σ*: om. *P* ⁷² καὶ Holstenius : ἀλλὰ καὶ *codd.*

11 One incident should not be omitted, which pertains to the fame of a
 venerable man. As the story goes, Aurelian spoke of and planned in all
 seriousness the destruction of the city of Tyana. However, Apollonius of
 Tyana, the sage of highest fame and authority, the ancient philosopher and
 true friend of the gods, himself also honourable like a god, suddenly ap-
 proached him, when he retired to his tent, in his human form, and said to
 him in Latin, so that a man from Pannonia would understand it, the follow-
 ing words: "Aurelian, if you want to be victorious, do not think about the
 murder of my citizens! Aurelian, if you want to rule, abstain from the blood
 of innocent people! Aurelian, show clemency, if you want to live on!"
 Aurelian knew the appearance of the venerable philosopher and had seen
 his picture in many temples. In short, he was at once struck by awe, prom-
 ised him a picture, statues and a temple, and was restored to reason. I have
 heard this story from serious authorities, and have also read it myself in the
 books of the Ulpian Library, and I believe it all the more for Apollonius'
 majesty. Because what has been on earth that was more holy, more vener-
 able, more honourable and more divine than him? He restored to life the
 dead, he accomplished and said much beyond human power. If anyone
 wishes to know about these things, he should read the Greek books which
 are written about his life.

F

LIFE OF PYTHAGORAS

1 Apollonius in his books *On Pythagoras* also mentions his mother Pythais, a
 descendant of Ancaeus, the founder of Samus. According to Apollonius
 some say that he (*sc.* Pythagoras) was the son of Apollo and Pythais in origin,
 though in truth he was the son of Mnesarchus. At least, a Samian poet said:

"Pythagoras, dear to Zeus, whom Pythais has born to Apollo,
 who was the most beautiful amongst the Samian women."

And he says that he was a pupil not only of Pherecydes and Hermodamas,
 but also of Anaximander.

2 LAMBL. *Vita Pyth.* 254-264: ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔστιν
 75 ὅπου διαφωνεῖ, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ προστίθησι τῶν μὴ εἰρημένων παρὰ τούτοις, φέρε
 δὴ καὶ τὴν τούτου παραθόμεθα διήγησιν περὶ τῆς εἰς τοὺς Πυθαγορείους
 ἐπιβούλης. λέγει τοίνυν ὡς ἐκείνοις παρηκολούθει μὲν εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ὁ
 φθόνος παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων. οἱ γάρ ἀνθρωποι, μέχρι μὲν διελέγετο πᾶσι τοῖς
 προσιοῦσι Πυθαγόρας, ἡδέως εἶχον, ἐπεὶ δὲ μόνοις ἐνετύχανε τοῖς μαθηταῖς,
 80 ήλαττούτο. καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἥκοντος συνεχώρουν ἡπτάσθαι, τοῖς δ'
 ἐγχωρίοις πλεῖον φέρεσθαι δοκούσιν ἥχθοντο, καὶ καθ' αὐτῶν ὑπελάμβανον
 γίνεσθαι τὴν σύνοδον. ἐπειτα καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων ὅντων ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς
 ἀξιώμασι καὶ ταῖς οὐσίαις προεχόντων, συνέβαινε προαγούσης τῆς ἡλικίας μὴ
 85 μόνον αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ιδίοις βίοις πρωτεύειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν
 οἰκονομεῖν, μεγάλην μὲν ἑταῖρείαν συναγηγόχοσιν – ἡσαν <γάρ> ὑπὲρ
 τριακοσίους –, μικρὸν δὲ μέρος τῆς πόλεως οὐσι, τῆς οὐκ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔθεσιν
 οὐδὲ ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐκείνοις πολιτευομένης. (255) οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ μέχρι μὲν οὖν
 τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν χώραν ἐκέκτηντο καὶ Πυθαγόρας ἐπεδήμει, διέμενεν ἡ μετὰ
 τὸν συνοικισμὸν κεχρονισμένη κατάστασις, δυσαρεστούμενη καὶ ζητοῦσα
 90 καιρὸν εὑρασθαι μεταβολῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ Σύβαριν ἔχειρώσαντο, κάκείνος ἀπῆλθε,
 καὶ τὴν δορικήτην διωκήσαντο, μὴ κατακληρουχηθῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν
 τῶν πολλῶν, ἔξερράγη τὸ σιωπώμενον μῆσος, καὶ διέστη πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸ
 πλῆθος. τὸ γεμόνες δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς διαφορᾶς οἱ ταῖς συγγενείαις <καὶ> ταῖς
 95 οἰκειότησιν ἐγγύτατα καθεστηκότες τῶν Πυθαγορείων. αἴτιον δ' ἦν, <ὅτι> τὰ
 μὲν πολλὰ αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει τῶν πραττομένων, ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς τυχόντας, ἐφ' ὅσον
 ἰδιασμὸν εἶχε παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις καθ' αὐτῶν μόνον
 ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τὴν ἀτιμίαν. ἐπὶ μὲν γάρ τῷ μηδένα τῶν Πυθαγορείων
 ὄνομάζειν Πυθαγόραν, ἀλλὰ ζῶντα μέν, ὄποτε βούλοιντο δηλώσαι, καλεῖν
 αὐτὸν θεῖον, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐκείνον τὸν ἄνδρα, καθάπερ "Ομηρος
 100 ἀποφαίνει τὸν Εῦμαιον ὑπὲρ Ὁδυσσέως μεμνημένον·
 τὸν μὲν ἐγών, ὃ ξεῖνε, καὶ οὐ παρεόντ' ὄνομάζειν
 αἰδέομαι· πέρι γάρ μ' ἐφίλει καὶ ἐκήδετο λίην,

(256) ὁμοτρόπως δὲ μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς κλίνης ἀνίστασθαι ὑστερον ἢ τὸν ἥλιον
 ἀνίσχειν, μηδὲ δακτύλιον ἔχοντα θεοῦ σημεῖον φορεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν

2 Well, since Apollonius' account of the same events differs in some detail and also adds much that the other authors do not tell, I will also give his version of the plot against the Pythagoreans. According to him, they were already envied by the others in their childhood. For the people liked Pythagoras, as long as he talked with everyone who came to him, but when he conversed only with his pupils, he lost his sympathy. And although they accepted that they were inferior to him, a foreigner, they felt annoyed with those of their countrymen who appeared to be favoured, and suspected that the whole union was directed against them. Moreover, since the young men already came from the reputed and wealthy families, it happened that, when they grew older, they did not excel only in private life, but also publicly ran the city, forming a large club—there were more than three hundred of them—, despite being only a small part of the citizens, who neither shared their customs nor their way of life. (255) Nevertheless, as long as they held their original territory and Pythagoras stayed in the city, the old constitution from the synoecism lasted on. It was, however, unpopular, and only the opportunity for overturning it was missing. But when they had defeated Sybaris and he (*sc.* Pythagoras) had left the country, and they decreed that the land which had been acquired in the war should not be portioned out to colonists, as the people desired, the silent hatred broke forth and the masses turned against them. Those who had been most intimately linked with the Pythagoreans by family ties or by friendship became leaders of the opposition. The reason was that they were embarrassed by most of their behaviour, as was everyone else, insofar as it was quite unusual compared with normal standards, and in the most important matters thought that they alone were deprived of honour: For the Pythagoreans did not call Pythagoras by name, but during his lifetime referred to him as "the divine man", and after his death as "that man", when they wanted to mention him, as Homer makes Eumeus remember Odysseus:

"I do not dare mention his name, stranger, even though he is absent.

With so much kindness and attention did he treat me.

(256) Likewise, they always got up before sunrise and did not wear a ring with the image of a god, but watched the sun in order that they might pray

⁷⁷ ἐκείνοις *F*: ἐκείνῳ post Küster edd., sed sermo est de Pythagoricis ⁸¹ καθ' αὐτῶν Scaliger : κατ' αὐτῶν *F* ⁸⁵ συναγηγόχοσιν Küster : συνηγ- *F* || γάρ *suppl.* Scaliger ⁸⁷ ἐκείνοις *C* : -ης *F*
⁸⁸ ἐκέκτηντο Scaliger : -ητο *F* ⁹³ καὶ *suppl.* Acerius ⁹⁴ ὅτι *suppl.* Küster ⁹⁶ αὐτῶν Scaliger : αὐτὸν *F* ¹⁰¹⁻¹⁰² Cf. *Od.* 14,145-146 ¹⁰² λίην Iambl. : θυμῷ Hom. ¹⁰³ ἀνίστασθαι Küster : ἀνίσταμένοις *F*

παρατηρεῖν ὅπως ἀνιόντα προσεύξωνται, τὸν δὲ μὴ περιτίθεσθαι, φυλαττομένους μὴ προσενέγκωσι πρὸς ἐκφορὰν ἡ τινα τόπον οὐ καθαρόν, ὄμοιώς δὲ μηδ' ἀπροβούλευτον μηδ' ἀνυπεύθυνον μηδὲν ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ πρωῒ μὲν προχειρίζεσθαι τί πρακτέον, εἰς δὲ τὴν νύκτα ἀναλογίζεσθαι τί διωκήκασιν, ἅμα τῷ σκοπεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν μνήμην γυμναζομένους, παραπλησίως δ', εἴ τις τῶν κοινωνούντων τῆς διατριβῆς ἀπαντῆσαι κελεύσειν εἰς τινα τόπον, ἐν ἐκείνῳ περιμένειν, ἔως ἔλθοι, δι' ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, πάλιν ἐν τούτῳ τῶν Πυθαγορείων συνεθιζόντων μεμνῆσθαι τὸ ρῆθεν καὶ μηδὲν εἰκῇ λέγειν, (257) ὥλως δ' ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς εἶναι τι προστεταγμένον· κατὰ τὸν ὑστατὸν <γάρ> καιρὸν παρήγγελλε μὴ βλασphemεῖν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγωγαῖς οἰωνίζεσθαι μετὰ τῆς εὐφημίας, ἦνπερ ἐποιοῦντο διωθούμενοι τὸν Ἀδρίαν. τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα, καθάπερ προεῖπον, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐλύπει κοινῶς ἀπαντας, ἐφ' ὅσον ἔγνωσαν ἰδιάζοντας ἐν αὐτοῖς τοὺς συμπεπαιδευμένους. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ μόνοις τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις τὴν δεξιὰν ἐμβάλλειν, ἔτερῳ δὲ μηδὲν τῶν οἰκείων πλὴν τῶν γονέων, καὶ τῷ τὰς οὐσίας ἀλλήλων μὲν παρέχειν κοινάς, πρὸς ἐκείνους δὲ ἐξηλοτριώμενας, χαλεπάτερον καὶ βαρύτερον ἔφερον οἱ συγγενεῖς. ἀρχόντων δὲ τούτων τῆς διαστάσεως ἑτοίμως οἱ λοιποὶ προσέπιπτον εἰς τὴν ἔχθραν. καὶ λεγόντων ἔξ αὐτῶν τῶν χιλίων Ἰππάσου καὶ Διοδώρου καὶ Θεάγους ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντας κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ διδόναι τὰς εὐθύνας τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν τοῖς ἐκ πάντων λαχοῦσιν, ἐναντιούμενων δὲ τῶν Πυθαγορείων Ἀλκιμάχου καὶ Δεινάρχου καὶ Μέτωνος καὶ Δημοκῆδους καὶ διακωλυόντων τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν μὴ καταλύειν, ἐκράτησαν οἱ τῷ πλήθει συνηγοροῦντες. (258) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνιόντων τῶν πολλῶν διελόμενοι τὰς δημηγορίας κατηγόρουν τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ρήτορων Κύλων καὶ Νίνων. ἦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῶν εὐπόρων, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν. τοιούτων δὲ λόγων, μακροτέρων δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Κύλωνος ρήθεντων ἐπῆγεν ἀτερος, προσποιούμενος μὲν ἐξητηκέναι τὰ τῶν Πυθαγορείων ἀπόρρητα, πεπλακώς δὲ καὶ γεγραφώς ἔξ ὧν μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἥμελλε διαβάλλειν, καὶ δοὺς τῷ γραμματεῖ βιβλίον ἐκέλευσεν ἀναγιγνώσκειν. (259) ἦν δ' αὐτῷ ἐπιγραφὴ μὲν “λόγος ιερός”, ὁ δὲ τύπος τοιούτος τῶν γεγραμμένων. τοὺς

to it at its rising, and they put on no such ring out of fear that they might bring it into contact with a burial or an unclean place. Equally, they did nothing without premeditating or reconsidering it, but decided in the morning what was to be done, and in the evening recalled their actions, training memory and reason alike. Similarly, if a member of the sect asked for a meeting at a particular place, they stayed there day and night until his arrival. By this practice the Pythagoreans trained themselves to remember their words and to avoid senseless talk, (257) and, in general, to keep their rules till death. Because, in his last moments, he (*sc.* Pythagoras) had told them, they should not use profane language, but should watch the omens, as if they were setting out to sea, with the silence they had kept when they crossed the Adriatic sea. Such behaviour, as I said before, offended everyone, insofar as they saw how their former companions kept distance. That they would shake hands only with Pythagoreans and with no other relatives except their parents, and would share their property with each other, but hold it withdrawn from them, especially embarrassed and enraged their families. And when they started the break up, the others willingly joined in the hostility. Hippasus, Diodorus and Theages, themselves members of the Thousand, said that offices and *ekklesia* should be open to all and that the officials should give account to a board constituted out of all citizens by lot. The Pythagoreans Alcimachus, Dinarchus, Meton and Democedes opposed and tried to prevent the abolition of the ancestral constitution, but the advocates of the masses prevailed. (258) Afterwards, the people assembled and they were accused by the orators Cylon and Ninon—the first belonged to the rich, the other to the popular faction—who divided the speeches among them. After Cylon had made his speech, the longer one, to this effect, Ninon carried on. He pretended to have made an investigation of the secret acts of the Pythagoreans, though he had, in fact, written something he had made up which would damage their reputation as much as possible. He handed over a book to the grammateus and made him read it. (259) It was entitled *Sacred Book*, and the general outline of its content was as follows:

¹¹⁴ γὰρ *suffl.* Deubner. ¹¹⁵ διωθούμενοι τὸν Ἀδρίαν *praemisso* οἱ *Obrecht*: διωθουμένους τὴν ἀνδρείαν *F*. ¹¹⁷ ἔγνωσαν Deubner: ἔσσαν *F*: ἔώρων *Nauck*. ¹²² χιλίων *Cobet*: χρόνων *F*: ἀρχόντων *Rohde*. ¹²³ πάντας *Obrecht*: παντὸς *F*. ¹²⁴ πάντων *Cobet*: παντὸς *F*. ¹²⁶ διακωλυόντων *Arcerius*: διαλυόντων *F*. ¹²⁷ συνιόντων *Scaliger*: συνέντων *F*.

135 φίλους ὥσπερ τοὺς θεοὺς σέβεσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὥσπερ τὰ Θηρία
χειρούσθαι. τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην γνώμην ὑπὲρ Πυθαγόρου μεμνημένους ἐν μέτρῳ
τοὺς μαθητὰς λέγειν·

τοὺς μὲν ἔταιρους ἦγεν ἵσον μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι,
τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἥγειτ' οὗτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὗτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

140 (260) τὸν "Ομηρὸν μάλιστ' ἐπαινεῖν ἐν οἷς εἰρηκε ποιμένα λαῶν ἐμφανίσκειν
γὰρ βοσκήματα τοὺς ἄλλους ὄντας, ὀλιγαρχικὸν ὄντα. τοῖς κυνάμοις πολεμεῖν
ώς ἀρχηγοῖς γεγονόσι τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοῦ καθιστάναι τοὺς λαχόντας ἐπὶ τὰς
ἐπιμελείας. τυραννίδος ὄργεσθαι παρακαλοῦντας κρείττον εἶναι φάσκειν
γενέσθαι μίαν ἡμέραν ταῦρον ἢ πάντα τὸν αἴωνα βοῦν. ἐπαινεῖν τὰ τῶν ὄλλων
145 νόμιμα, κελεύειν δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ύψῳ αὐτῶν ἐγνωσμένοις. καθάπαξ τὴν
φιλοσοφίαν αὐτῶν συνωμοσίαν ἀπέφαινε κατὰ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ παρεκάλει
μηδὲ τὴν φωνὴν ἀνέχεσθαι συμβουλευόντων, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμεῖσθαι διότι τὸ
παράπαν οὐδ' ἀν συνῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, εἰ τοὺς χιλίους ἔπεισαν
έκεινοι κυρῶσαι τὴν συμβούλην. ὥστε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων δύναμιν
150 κεκωλυμένοις τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούειν οὐ προσήκειν ἐᾶν αὐτοὺς λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν
δεξιὰν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποδεδοκιμασμένην πολεμίαν ἐκείνοις ἔχειν, ὅταν τὰς
γνώμας χειροτονῶσιν ἢ τὴν ψῆφον λάβωσιν, αἰσχρὸν εἶναι νομίζοντας, τοὺς
τριάκοντα μυριάδων περὶ τὸν Τετράεντα ποταμὸν περιγενομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ
χιλιοστοῦ μέρους ἐκείνων ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει φανῆναι κατεστασιασμένους.
155 (261) τὸ δ' ὄλον οὕτω τῇ διαβολῇ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἔξηγριώσεν, ὥστε μετ' ὀλίγας
ἡμέρας, μουσεῖα θυόντων αὐτῶν ἐν οἰκίᾳ παρὰ τὸ Πύθιον, ἀθρόοι
συνδραμόντες οἵοι τ' ἡσαν τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ποιήσασθαι. οἱ δὲ
προαισθόμενοι, οἱ μὲν εἰς πανδοκεῖον ἔφυγον, Δημοκῆδης δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐφήβων
εἰς Πλαταίας ἀπεχώρησεν. οἱ δὲ καταλύσαντες τοὺς νόμιμους ἔχρωντο ψηφίσμα-
σιν, ἐν οἷς αἰτιασάμενοι τὸν Δημοκῆδην συνεστακέναι τοὺς νεωτέρους ἐπὶ
160 τυραννίδι, τρία τάλαντα ἐκήρυξαν δώσειν, ἐάν τις αὐτὸν ἀνέλῃ, καὶ
γενομένης μάχης, κρατήσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸν κίνδυνον [ὑπὸ] Θεάγους, ἐκείνῳ τὰ
τρία τάλαντα παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐμέρισαν. (262) πολλῶν δὲ κακῶν κατὰ τὴν
πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ὄντων, εἰς κρίσιν προβληθέντων τῶν φυγάδων καὶ τρισὶ
165 πόλεσι τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς παραδοθείστης, Ταραντίνοις, Μεταποντίνοις, Καυλωνιά-
ταις, ἔδοξε τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀργύριον λαβούσιν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς

They would honour their friends like gods, and subdue the others like beasts.
This was exactly the opinion which the disciples would express in a verse
about Pythagoras:

“His friends he held in honour like the blessed gods,
the others were of no account to him.”

(260) They would praise Homer most for his saying “shepherd of people”,
because he, an oligarch, presented the others as cattle. They were hostile to
beans because they were fundamental for the drawing of lots and for bring-
ing into office those who were selected. They would incite people to strive
for tyranny by saying it were better to be a bull for one day than a cow all
the time. They would praise other people's customs, but demand to live
according to their own doctrine. In short, he presented their philosophy as a
conspiracy against the people and demanded that they should not even listen
to their voice in council, but keep it in mind that they would not have
assembled at all, if those men had prevailed upon the Thousand to ratify
their advice. Therefore, they, who had been prevented by the influence of
the Pythagoreans from listening to others, should not allow them to speak,
but their right hands, which were rejected as unworthy by them, should be
hostile to them, when they voted by a show of hands or the voting tablet.
They should think it a disgrace that those who had defeated three hundred
thousand people by the Tetraeis river should appear to be overpowered in
their own city by a faction that numbered only the thousandth part of it.
(261) By his slander he generally stirred up his audience to such an extent
that a few days later, when the Pythagoreans performed a sacrifice to the
Muses in a house near the temple of Apollo, they crowded together and
were on the point of attacking them. But the Pythagoreans were forewarned
of this and some escaped to an inn, but Democedes withdrew with the
ephebes to Plataeae. The people abolished the laws and ruled by decrees, in
which they accused Democedes of having formed a union of young men for
tyranny, and publicly promised a reward of three talents, if someone should
kill him. And when it came to a battle, in which Theages prevailed over him,
they assigned to him the three talents from the city. (262) The situation
being very bad in the city and the countryside, the fugitives were taken to
court and the jurisdiction over the case was referred to three cities,
Tarentum, Metapont, and Caulonia. Since the judges sent were bribed, as is
recorded in the Annals of Croton, they condemned the defendants to exile.

¹⁴¹ κυνάμοις Obrecht : ἀγαμοῖς F ¹⁴³ παρακαλοῦντας Kiessling : -τα F ¹⁵² νομίζοντας Arcerius :
-τες F ¹⁵³ Τετράεντα F : Τράεντα Bentley coll. Diod. 12,22,1 ¹⁶² ὑπὸ del. Deubner, ante τὸν
transpos. Obrecht

Κροτωνιατῶν ὑπομνήμασιν ἀναγέγραπται, φεύγειν τοὺς αἰτίους. προσεξέ-
βαλον δὲ τῇ κρίσει κρατήσαντες ἄπαντας τὸν τοῖς καθεστῶσι δυσχε-
ραίνοντας καὶ συνεφυγάδευσαν τὴν γενεάν, οὐ φάσκοντες δεῖν ἀσεβεῖν οὐδὲ
170 τὸν παῖδας ἀπὸ τῶν γονέων διασπᾶν. καὶ τά τε χρέα ἀπέκοψαν καὶ τὴν γῆν
ἀνάδαστον ἐποίησαν. (263) ἐπιγενομένων δὲ πολλῶν ἔτῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν
Δείναρχον ἐν ἑτέρῳ κινδύνῳ τελευτησάντων, ἀποθανόντος καὶ Λιτάτους,
175 ὅσπερ ἦν ἡγεμονικάταος τῶν στασιασάντων, ἔλεός τις καὶ μετάνοια ἐνέπεσε,
καὶ τὸν περιλειπομένους αὐτῶν ἡβουλήθησαν κατάγειν. μεταπεμπόμενοι δὲ
πρεσβευτάς ἐξ Ἀχαϊας δι' ἐκείνων πρὸς τὸν ἐκπεπτωκότας διελύθησαν καὶ
180 τὸν ὄρκους εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκαν. (264) ἥσαν δὲ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν καὶ περὶ
ἔξηκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἱ κατελθόντες ἄνευ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ἐν οἷς ἐπὶ τὴν
ιατρικήν τινες κατενεχθέντες καὶ διαίτη τὸν ἀρρώστους ὄντας θεραπεύοντες
185 ἡγεμόνες κατέστησαν τῆς εἰρημένης καθόδου. Συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὸν σωθέντας,
διαφερόντως παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐδοκιμοῦντας κατὰ τὸν καιρόν, ἐν ὧ
λεγομένου πρὸς τὸν παρανομοῦντας “οὐ τάδε ἔστιν ἐπὶ Νίνωνος” γενέσθαι
φασὶ ταύτην τὴν παρομίαν, κατὰ τοῦτον ἐμβαλόντων τῶν Θουρίων κατὰ
χώραν ἐκβοηθήσαντας καὶ μετ' ἀλλήλων κινδυνεύσαντας ἀποθανεῖν, τὴν δὲ
πόλιν οὕτως εἰς τούναντίον μεταπεσεῖν, ὥστε χωρὶς τῶν ἐπαίνων, ὥν
190 ἐποιοῦντο περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὑπολαβεῖν μᾶλλον τὰς Μούσαις κεχαρισμένην
ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἑορτήν, <εἰ> κατὰ τὸ Μουσεῖον τὴν δημοσίαν ποιοῦντο θυσίαν,
<ο> κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους πρότερον ιδρυσάμενοι τὰς θεὰς ἐτίμων. περὶ μὲν
οὖν τῆς κατὰ τῶν Πυθαγορείων γενομένης ἐπιθέσεως τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

ΠΕΡΙ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ

- 3 (a)** PORPHYR. *Abst.* 2,34 p. 163,14-17 N.: Θύσομεν τοίνυν καὶ ἡμεῖς· ἀλλὰ
190 θύσομεν, ὡς προσήκει, διαφόρους τὰς θυσίας ὡς ἀν διαφόροις δυνάμεσι
προσάγοντες. Θεῷ μὲν τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι, ὡς τις ἀνήρ σοφὸς ἔφη, μηδὲν τῶν αἰσθητῶν
μήτε θυμιῶντες μήτε ἐπονομάζοντες.
(b) Eus. *Praep. ev.* 4,12,1-13,1 (= *Dem. ev.* 3,3,11): ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὗτος (*sc.*
Πορφύριος). ἀδελφὰ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ συγγενῆ περὶ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μεγάλου θεοῦ

In addition, the victorious party banished all those who were displeased with the present state of affairs together with their families, saying that one should not act impiously by separating children from their parents. And they cancelled all debts and distributed the land. (263) However, after many years, when Dinarchus' followers had perished in another struggle and Litetes, the main leader of the rebels, had also died, some pity and regret overcame them, and they wished to recall the surviving exiles. Sending for envoys to Achaea they became reconciled by their mediation and set up the oaths at Delphi. (264) The returning Pythagoreans, not including the old men, numbered about sixty. Some of them, who had turned to medicine and cured the sick by a diet, became the leaders of the aforementioned return. It also happened that the survivors, who were held in highest esteem among the people, came to help at the moment when the Thurii invaded the country—it is at this time that the proverb "These are not the times of Ninon", which is said to lawbreakers, is reported to have originated—, and that they fought and died together in battle. So completely did the city reverse its policy that, apart from the praises bestowed on the men, they thought the festival would be more pleasing to the Muses if they performed the public sacrifice at the Museum, which they had formerly built in honour of the goddesses under the direction of the Pythagoreans. So much about the attack on the Pythagoreans.

ON SACRIFICE

- 3 (a)** We will also offer sacrifices, but, as is appropriate, our sacrifices will differ according to the different powers to which we offer them. To the supreme god, as a wise man said, we will offer nothing that belongs to the world of the senses neither burning incense nor uttering prayers.
(b) These are Porphyry's words. Similar and related in kind is what Apollonius of Tyana, the popular figure, is said to have written in his book

¹⁷⁴ περιλειπομένους *Nauk*: παραλ- *F* ¹⁷⁶ καὶ *F*: ὡς *Cobet*, ἔτι? *Rohde* ¹⁷⁹ καθόδου *Delatte*:
μεθ- *F* ¹⁸⁶ εἰ *suppl.* *Kiesling* || ποιοῦντο *Kiesling*: ἐποιοῦντο *F* ¹⁸⁷ δὲ κατ' αὐτοὺς *Küster*:
καθ' αὐτοὺς *F* ¹⁸⁹⁻¹⁹⁰ θύσομεν *codd.*: θύσωμεν *bis* *Cyrill. c. Iul. 2 p. 60 E*

195 ἐν τῷ Περὶ θυσιῶν ὁ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀδόμενος αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ Τυανεὺς
 Ἀπολλώνιος τάδε γράφειν λέγεται· (13) “οὕτως τοίνυν μάλιστα ἀν τις,
 οἵμαι, τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιοῖτο τοῦ θείου τυγχάνοι
 τε αὐτόθεν ἔλεώ τε καὶ εὐμενοῦς αὐτοῦ παρ' ὄντινα οὖν μόνος
 ἀνθρώπων, εἰ θεῷ μέν, ὃν δὴ πρῶτον ἔφαμεν, ἐνί τε ὄντι καὶ
 200 κεχωρισμένῳ πάντων, μεθ' ὃν γνωρίζεσθαι τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀναγ-
 καῖον, μὴ θύοι τι τὴν ἀρχὴν μήτε ἀνάπτοι πῦρ μήτε καθόλου τι
 τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐπονομάζοι – δεῖται γὰρ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν
 κρειττόνων ἥπερ ήμεῖς· οὐδὲ ἔστιν ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνίησι γῆ φυτὸν ἦ
 205 τρέφει ζῷον ἢ ἀήρ, φῦ μὴ πρόσεστί γέ τι μίασμα –, μόνῳ δὲ χρῶτο
 πρὸς αὐτὸν αἰεὶ τῷ κρείττονι λόγῳ, λέγω δὲ τῷ μὴ διὰ στόματος
 ιόντι, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν ὄντων διὰ τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν
 ἐν ἡμῖν αἰτοίη τὰ ἀγαθά· νοῦς δέ ἔστιν οὗτος, ὄργανον μὴ
 δεόμενος. οὐκοῦν κατὰ ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων
 θεῷ θυτέον.”

¹⁹⁸ μόνος *A* : μᾶλλον *BIONV* ¹⁹⁹ ἐνί τε *AN* : ἐνίοτε *BION^{Ac}DV*

On Sacrifice about the first and great god: “You will render, I think, the most adequate service to the god and obtain his benevolence and favour more than anyone else, if you do not sacrifice at all to the god, whom we have called the first, who is one and separated from all, and to whom all other gods have to be regarded as inferior, nor light up a fire, nor call him by any name whatsoever that belongs to the world of the senses—he has no want, not even from beings superior to us, nor is there either plant or animal at all which earth and air let grow up or foster which has no stain—, but if you always use only the better *logos* in relation to him, I mean the *logos* that does not pass through the mouth, and ask the supreme being to bestow its goods by your best part, that is the intellect which needs no medium. Accordingly, in no way, will we offer sacrifices to the great and almighty god.”

1064. Apollonius of Tyana

(1st cent. A.D.)

Introduction

Apollonius of Tyana is more a figure of legend and lore than of history. Thus, talking about his life involves separating different layers of tradition rather than writing a continuous *vita*¹. The main bulk of our knowledge comes from Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*, written about A.D. 217, perhaps at the suggestion of the Empress Julia Domna. This biography, which shows, *inter alia*, the interest the Severan dynasty had in A., had a major impact on later literary tradition. In this work, A. is presented as a sage and pagan saint, and it is not surprising that it was used afterwards in anti-christian polemics, when A. became the champion of the pagan way of life². The pagan Hierocles, writing at about the beginning of the 4th century A.D., based his Φιλαλήθης λόγος—mainly known to us from Eusebius' reply—on Philostratus' books. Nicomachus Flavianus, defender of pagan values, made a copy of it³. Besides, Soterichus (1080), a pagan poet living in the times of the Emperor Diocletian, may have used it for a poem on the Βίος Ἀπολλωνίου. Philostratus associates A. with Roman Emperors (e.g. Nero, Vespasian), makes him take part in important political decisions and brings him into contact with the most famous philosophers of his time (Demetrius, Musonius, Euphrates). However, his work is more a biographical novel than a historical biography⁴. Philostratus obviously invented the story of his hero A.—often quite fantastic—with a general historical framework and

¹ It is beyond the scope of the present article to follow up the whole tradition until Byzantine times, but its aim is rather to trace its beginnings and most important stages. On the late testimonies especially MILLER (1892: 581-584); PETZKE (1970: 24-33); SPEYER (1974: 47-63).

² See especially DZIELSKA (1986: 153-183); on Hierocles cf. also SPEYER (1991: 103-109).

³ Cf. SIDON. Ep. 8,3,1: *Apollonii Pythagorici vitam, non ut Nicomachus senior e Philostrati, sed ut Tascius Victorianus e Nicomachi schedio exscripsit (...)*. He may have translated the work into Latin, though our evidence does not state this.

⁴ Cf. e.g. MEYER II (1924: 188): "So bleibt sein Buch ein höfisch beeinflußtes journalistisches Machwerk, das mit allem Raffinement der sophistischen Kunst ausgestattet ist und durch Verbindung der auf das gebildete Publikum berechneten unterhaltenden und belehrenden Züge und des utopischen Reisermögens mit der philosophisch-theologischen Haupttendenz einen unbefriedigenden Mischcharakter erhält." BOWIE (1978: 1663-1667); ID. (1994: 187-196).

adapted the historical events accordingly, as is suggested by some historical inaccuracies (e.g. the Vardanes episode) and differences from the rest of the historical tradition⁵. Thus, although some part of Philostratus' account must be based on genuine evidence, most of it turns out to be pure fiction. The same applies to A.'s biographer Damis (1065), on whose eye-witness report Philostratus claims to rely. Even the person of Damis and his memoirs are probably invented by Philostratus himself. Otherwise, we have to assume an independent novel, Damis being the pseudonym of its author. Whatever solution is preferred, the incidents reported by Damis are downright fantastic and can hardly be taken for historical truth. Furthermore, according to Philostratus, there already existed two other works on A., when he set out to write his novel. Moeragenes (1067), living probably at the turn of the 1st to the 2nd century A.D., had written four books ὀπομνησούματα on A., in which he appears to have presented A. as μάγος and φιλόσοφος. Judging from Philostratus' severe criticism, Moeragenes' work seems to have constituted the standard biography which he now wanted to supersede. Furthermore, Maximus of Aegeae (1066) is said to have written an account of A.'s early years. Apart from these lost biographical works a corpus of epistles survives, which are attributed to A. and may in some way be related to his biography⁶. Further evidence, which is independent from Philostratus, is meagre, cf. T 1-8; 9 (?). According to this, A. lived in the 1st century A.D. He possibly died under Nerva (A.D. 96-98). At any rate, he seems to have survived Domitian (T 2). He was a kind of prophet and shaman (γόνης and μάγος), who was famous for his miracles and sometimes intervened in public life⁷. Above all his healing powers seem to have been important (T 1; 6). In Byzantine times we hear of many talismans (ἀποτελέσματα) set up to Apollonius, especially in Antiochia and Byzantium, a custom which may well go back to an early local tradition (T 7)⁸. Apparently A.'s influence was mainly

⁵ For a detailed analysis see BOWIE (1978: 1655-1662) against GROSSO (1954: 333-332).

⁶ Cf. on 1067. MOERAGENES T 6.

⁷ Cf. especially MILLER (1892: 581-584); BOWIE (1978: 1686-87); DZIELSKA (1986: 51-127).

⁸ Cf. MILLER (1892: 581-582); MEYER II (1924: 154-155); SPEYER (1974: 58): "Wenn auch erst seit dem 5. Jh. die Talismane des Apollonios reicher bezeugt sind, so dürfen diese Nachrichten doch auf einer älteren, wenn nicht sogar echten, aber durch Philostrats Einfluß zurückgedrängten Überlieferung beruhen." See, however, DZIELSKA (1986: 99): "Soon afterwards, as if in response to the publication of Hierocles' work, there began to appear talismans allegedly made by Apollonius in various cities of the Greek East."

linked to the region of Asia Minor. Links with Tyana, his birthplace (T 1), Ephesus (T 2; 4-5), Aegeae or Tarsus (T 6) can be quite securely established. It remains an unsolved question whether A. was really a Pythagorean⁹ or whether he was only portrayed in this way by later authors (e.g. by Moeragene¹⁰ or Damis¹¹). According to our sources A. wrote a treatise *On Sacrifice* and a *Life of Pythagoras*, and if these works are believed to be genuine, A. clearly belongs to the group of Neo-Pythagorean authors. In the case of the *Life of Pythagoras* substantial parts are preserved in Iamblichus' work of the same name. Although A. is explicitly quoted only for the §§ 254-264, it is clear from a comparison of Iamblichus with Porphyry (F 1) that §§ 3-25 should also be attributed to him. Moreover, several other sections, perhaps about one third of Iamblichus' *Life of Pythagoras*, may be derived from A.¹² The certain fragments sufficiently prove that A.'s biography contained Pythagoras' life from the beginning to the end, including an account of the wiping out of his school in Italy. The events were described in quite a rationalistic and detailed way. The psychological side of the stasis was particularly dwelt on. This abundance of detail does of course not imply that the story is true. On the contrary, it rather shows the inventive talent of its author¹³. Thus, the *Life of Pythagoras* stands on the borderline between biography and novel—in fact, it should be regarded as a “biographical novel”¹⁴, which should be judged rather by literary than by historical stand-

⁹ ZELLER III 2 (1903: 165); PETZKE (1970: 49); BOWIE (1978: 1692).

¹⁰ SCHMID II 1 (1920: 380).

¹¹ REITZENSTEIN (1906: 40-41).

¹² Cf. ROHDE II (1901: 102-172), whose analysis, which—though arguable in some detail—generally appears to be correct. According to him, Iamblichus used A. and Nicomachus (1063) as his main sources. To A. he attributes the following sections: 3-25; 28-29; 68-73; 80-81; 91-93; 122-126; 144; 177-178; 185-186; 215-222; 254-264; 265-266. Sometimes, however, the only reason for his attribution to A. is that Nicomachus could not have written such things. Cf. also BERTERMANN (1913: 75-77) mainly accepting ROHDE's results. Opposition was raised by LÉVY (1926: 104-117), who assumes a third source to which he assigns some of the controversial passages.

¹³ See especially ROHDE II (1901: 122): “Kurz: die ganze weit ausgesponnene Geschichte, in allen ihren Theilen von den gut bezeugten Berichten abweichend, hat durchaus das Ansehen einer zur Ergötzung unwissenschaftlicher, nach Neuem verlangender Leser frei und im Grunde nicht ganz ungeschickt erfundenen Fabel.”; and p. 172: “Apollonius tummelt sich leichtfüßig unbefangen unter den kecken Wolkengebildern seiner von allem historischen Zwange ganz emancipierten Phantasie umher.”

¹⁴ ROHDE II (1901: 172) rightly calls it a “biographischer Roman”.

ards¹⁵. The work is heavily indebted to Atticism and points to a considerable knowledge of Greek classics on the author's part. All in all, it is more reminiscent of the writings of a sophist like Dio Chrysostom than of a popular healer like A. Therefore, I would regard it as spurious. It seems almost natural that some Neo-Pythagorean product should have been attributed to A. As his biography written by Moeragene (1067) shows, there was some interest in his person at Athens towards the middle, if not the beginning, of the 2nd century A.D., and regarding the style and philosophical content of the *Life of Pythagoras*, the work would fit well into the literary climate of the Athens of Hadrianic or Antonine times. Perhaps there was even some connection with the Imperial court. Philostratus tells us how A. descended into the cave of Trophonius at Lebadea and brought back a book called *Maxims of Pythagoras*, which was preserved in Hadrian's library at Antium¹⁶. If the story contains a grain of truth, it could allude to the *Life of Pythagoras*, which might have been dedicated to the emperor. Furthermore, an analogous literary motif may be found in Philostratus' remarks about the origin of his *Life of Apollonius*. Philostratus says that it was written in substance by A.'s friend Damis (1065) and that it appeared at some stage at the Severan court. The author of the *Life of Pythagoras* might have employed a similar literary fiction, attributing his work to A. Objections may be equally raised against A.'s alleged philosophical treatise *On Sacrifice* (F 3), of which Philostratus claims to have found copies in many temples¹⁷, though it did not influence him¹⁸. The work included an elaborate theory on the highest beings, influenced by middle-Platonic thought, which can hardly be attributed to A. himself. The polished Greek seems to exclude the hypothesis that it was a translation of a supposed Aramaic original¹⁹. It rather seems to belong to the same literary context as the *Life of Pythagoras* and the *Epistles of Apollonius*, in which the magician A. was turned into a man of letters and a Platonic philosopher. Accord-

¹⁵ Contra ROHDE II (1901), who severely criticizes A. several times for his lack of historical exactness, and contrasts him with Nicomachus, whom he regards as a more faithful author. However, one should not overestimate Nicomachus' merits. Cf. also LÉVY (1926: 117-121).

¹⁶ PHILOSTR. *Vita Ap.* 8,19-20.

¹⁷ PHILOSTR. *Vita Ap.* 3,41 (= 1067. MOERAGENE T 2).

¹⁸ DZIELSKA (1986: 149-150) thinks that Philostratus did not read it, because it was written in Middle Aramaic, but Philostratus' statement (*Vita Ap.* 4,19) about the book which she adduces καὶ βιβλίῳ Απολλωνίου προστυχεῖν ἔστιν, ἐν φά ταῦτα τῇ ἔαντοῦ φωνῇ ἔκδιδάσκει does not prove it. The expression τῇ ἔαντοῦ φωνῇ rather means “in his own words”. According to Philostratus, *Vita Ap.* 1,7: καὶ ή γλώττα Ἀττικῶς εἶχεν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπίκηθι τὴν φωνὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους, A. was of course an Atticist.

ing to Philostratus the book was not mentioned by A.s biographer Moeragenes (1067). If Philostratus is telling the truth, such an omission would be quite surprising, because Moeragenes elsewhere seems to have stressed A.s Neo-Pythagoreanism. Perhaps the omission is due to the fact that the treatise *On Sacrifice* originated only afterwards. In this case it might have been written about the middle of the 2nd century A.D.

Commentary on the Testimonies and the Fragments

T

(1) Lucian is talking about the teacher of Alexander of Abonuteichus, a follower of A., who professed to be an *iατρός*, but was in reality a charlatan and a quack. Lucian's passing reference is the earliest evidence we have on A. It fits roughly into the chronological framework given by Philostratus. It is clear from Lucian's words that he regarded A. as the same sort of person as his pupil. Apparently A.s reputation as a healer and magician was already established by the middle of the 2nd century A.D.²⁰ Perhaps Lucian also associated A. with Neo-Pythagoreanism, since he makes Alexander pretend (ch. 4) to be similar to Pythagoras²¹.

(2) A.s vision of Domitian's murder is also related by Philostratus²². It is difficult to tell whether Dio knew Philostratus' version when publishing this part of his history. Although it is possible that he did²³, he does not seem to regard A. as a well-known literary figure. Therefore the hypothesis might seem preferable that his account is independent of that of Philostratus²⁴ and goes back to some local Ephesian tradition.

(3) A similar story, though differing in detail, is also told by Philostratus in his *Life of Apollonius*²⁵. There, a boy has spilled some wheat, and a sparrow tells the others about it. As in the case of T 2 both versions might go back to some local Ephesian lore²⁶.

²⁰ If this was A.s mother-tongue.

²¹ Cf. MEYER II (1924: 148); BOWIE (1978: 1686).

²² See BOWIE (1978: 1692).

²³ PHILOSTR. *Vita Ap.* 8,26.

²⁴ Cf. BOWIE (1989: 252).

²⁵ Cf. MEYER II (1924: 148-149); PETZKE (1970: 21; 134); DZIELSKA (1986: 30-32); contra GROSSO (1954: 505).

²⁶ PHILOSTR. *Vita Ap.* 4,3.

²⁷ Cf. MEYER II (1924: 159-160); BOWIE (1978: 1687).

(4) The setting up of a statue in honour of Hercules Apotropaeus in Ephesus is also mentioned by Philostratus²⁷ in connection with A.s driving out of a plague-causing demon. Lactantius is possibly drawing upon Philostratus, merely distorting his words²⁸. However, he attributes to Hercules a slightly different epithet (*Alexicacus*), which may suggest that both authors rather go back to a common Ephesian tradition²⁹.

(5) Like Lucian Dio regards A. as a magician. His remarks on A.s *floruit* (ἐπὶ Δομιτιανοῦ ἀνθήσαντα) hardly suffice to establish a later chronology than the one given by Philostratus³⁰, though there was apparently some uncertainty concerning A.s time of life in the later tradition³¹. Caracalla probably built the shrine in Tyana in A.D. 215, while travelling to the East³². The Severan dynasty seems to have been very fond of A., as is shown by Philostratus' implicit dedication of his *Life of Apollonius* to Julia Domna³³.

(6) The inscription, which was found somewhere in the Cilician plain, contains an epigram on A.³⁴ The shape of the stone shows that it formed part of an architrave or lintel, beneath which the statue of A. was placed. The whole arrangement probably formed part of a small sanctuary or shrine. Its exact location, however, remains uncertain. A.s birthplace Tyana seems to be excluded, because the enormous stone can hardly have crossed the Taurus mountains³⁵. Therefore, a place within the region Cilicia Pedias itself is preferable. The city of Aegeae seems to be a good candidate, because according to Philostratus A. started his religious career in the local sanctuary of Asclepius. Since the epigram stresses A.s healing powers, one might even guess that A.s shrine belonged to the Asclepieion³⁶. However, Tarsus seems equally possible³⁷. A precise dating of the epigram from

²⁷ PHILOSTR. *Vita Ap.* 4,10; cf. on it WILAMOWITZ V 2 (1937: 108-109).

²⁸ Cf. MEYER II (1924: 161 n. 2).

²⁹ Cf. BOWIE (1978: 1687).

³⁰ Cf. BOWIE (1989: 252) *contra* DZIELSKA (1986: 32).

³¹ This may have caused the second entry on A. in the SUDA α 3422 s.v. Απολλάνιος ἔτερος, Τυανεύς, φιλόσοφος νεώτερος, γεγονώς ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως; cf. MILLER (1895: 148).

³² See DZIELSKA (1986: 56-62), who also collects other evidence which connects A. with this city.

³³ Cf. BOWIE (1978: 1663).

³⁴ It is preserved in the museum at Adana, and was first published independently by BOWIE (1978: 1687-1688) and DAGRON MARCILLET-JAUBERT (1978: 402-405).

³⁵ Cf. BOWIE (1978: 1688).

³⁶ See DZIELSKA (1986: 73).

³⁷ See JONES (1980: 191); DZIELSKA (1986: 160-161) wants to date it between A.D. 302 and 331; but cf. BOWIE (1989: 252).

its lettering and content seems to be impossible. A date within the 3rd – 4th century A.D. seems most likely³⁸. The epigram itself is slightly mutilated. In lines 3-4 one should probably read οὐδὲ λόφος and πέμψεν³⁹. From the expression τὸ δ' ἐτήτυμον it is clear that a negative clause must precede it (“not X, as is commonly assumed, but Y”)⁴⁰. Since, as the final clause shows, the epigram refers to A.s activities on earth, we should not read δέξαθ⁴¹, but rather supplement a verb meaning “to send”, or “to produce”.

(7) Eusebius' remarks are the first evidence we have on talismans set up in the name of A. in many cities of the Roman Empire. These ἀποτελέσματα consisted mainly of statues and columns put up against pests (like storks and scorpions) and the forces of nature, and are attested especially for Byzantium and Antiochia by later Byzantine authors⁴². Although they are not mentioned by Philostratus, who always tries to suppress A.s magical aspect as much as possible, it seems quite likely that the talismans already existed in early times forming part of the tradition in which A. was seen as a powerful μάγος and γόης⁴³.

(8) The papyrus dates to the 4th–5th century A.D.⁴⁴. It contains magic prescriptions on how to turn a goddess into a housewife. It is an interesting, though late, document of how A. was connected with magic in popular belief.

(9) The article of the Suda mainly depends on Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*. However, there may be some other source, as is shown by the list of A.s works. Some of them, as *On Sacrifice*, the testament and the epistles, are also referred to by Philostratus⁴⁵. In the case of the Χρησμοί and the *Life of Pythagoras* an identification is difficult. The former work could be the treatise Περὶ μαντείας ἀστέρων, which is mentioned by Philostratus⁴⁶, but it might also be some Byzantine fabrication⁴⁷. The biography of Pythagoras may be alluded to by Philostratus in *Vita Ap.* 8,19, where A. is said to have descended into

³⁸ See JONES (1980: 190-191).

³⁹ See EBERT (1983: 285-286).

⁴⁰ MERKELBACH (1982: 266), who, however, thought that lines 3-4 referred to a state in heaven and read [οὐκ ἔδα]φος ... [δέξαθ̄ ὅ]πως.

⁴¹ This was suggested by BOWIE (1978: 1688).

⁴² For a collection of sources cf. especially MILLER (1892: 581-584); SPEYER (1974: 56-63).

⁴³ Cf. MILLER (1892: 581); MEYER II (1924: 154); BOWIE (1978: 1686).

⁴⁴ Cf. PREISENDANZ II (1931: 54).

⁴⁵ PHILOSTR. *Vita Ap.* 3,41; 7,35; 1,2.

⁴⁶ PHILOSTR. *Vita Ap.* 3,41; cf. MEYER II (1924: 152).

⁴⁷ Cf. DEL CORNO (1978: 50 n. 73); DZIELSKA (1986: 130).

the cavern of Trophonius and to have brought back a book containing the Δόξαι Πυθαγόρου⁴⁸. Philostratus apparently knew the book, since he seems to have used it as a model⁴⁹.

(10) As in many other cases, it remains uncertain whether the statement of the *Historia Augusta* that Alexander Severus worshipped A. under his Lares is pure fiction⁵⁰ or whether it is at least based on some genuine information⁵¹. It seems quite likely that it was written under the influence of Philostratus⁵² or some subsequent pagan author like Nicomachus Flavianus. It is therefore probably not an independent testimony on the connection between A. and the Severan dynasty.

(11) The story told by the *Historia Augusta* about Aurelian's vision should not be taken seriously. As in the case of F 10, it was probably written under the influence of the *Annales* of Nicomachus Flavianus⁵³. Aurelian's vision seems to be closely modelled on the famous Christian vision supposedly experienced by the Emperor Constantine⁵⁴.

F

(1) Iamblichus in his *Life of Pythagoras* 4-6 offers the same singular information as Porphyry on Pythagoras' mother and ancestry. He obviously also used A.s *Life of Pythagoras* as a source. Since his account of Pythagoras' youth and education (ch. 3-25) forms a cohesive narrative unit, it seems very likely that the whole section, though not expressly indicated, is also taken from A.s work⁵⁵.

(2) A. is quoted for an alternative version of the extinction of the Pythagoreans. The ingredients of the story seem to have been taken

⁴⁸ Cf. MEYER II (1924: 153 n. 4). The objection that such a book could not be identical with the biography, because it belonged to another literary genre, seems to miss the mark, contra BOWIE (1978: 1672 n. 77). Philostratus' allusion does not need to be exact. Moreover, biography and doxography often go together, especially in the case of Pythagoras. Regarding the extant lives, one might even argue that Δόξαι Πυθαγόρου is an appropriate title.

⁴⁹ MILLER (1892: 137-145); LÉVY (1926: 130-137).

⁵⁰ Thus GEFFCKEN (1920: 282) regarding the syncretism as a typical product of the 4th century A.D.; SYME (1968: 138).

⁵¹ Cf. DEL CORNO (1978: 35).

⁵² Cf. MEYER II (1924: 149).

⁵³ Cf. SYME (1968: 111); on the sources of the *Vita Aureliani* see PASCHOUDE (1995: 281-295, especially 292-293).

⁵⁴ See BRANDT (1995: 107-117).

⁵⁵ Cf. ROHDE II (1901: 127-128).

from Timaeus⁵⁶, as is suggested by the “historical” approach of the description and above all the parallels with other authors⁵⁷. The political terminology⁵⁸ and the sociological model of class struggle, which is applied to the events, also point to a late 4th century author, well versed in Athenian history, as a source. A. presents the Cylonian attack, which appears to have been an aristocratic movement, as a democratic uprising against oligarchs. Athenian history probably served as a model⁵⁹. He develops a “large scale historical fresco painting”⁶⁰ without any regard for chronological consistency⁶¹. To add additional historical flavour to his invention, he inserts all the famous names of early Crotonian and Pythagorean history into his plot⁶². A.s language is quite artificial and shows Atticistic influences. There are, for example, relatively few hiatus, and perhaps even these might be due to Iamblichus. The syntax is altogether complex. The sentences are long, many participal constructions being used. Taken all together, one should regard the text as an early—and mostly overlooked example—of the Greek novel.

3 (a) The mysterious wise man was already identified as A. by Eusebius, who after excerpting Porphyry’s words adds verbatim the quotation from A. (3b)⁶³. There are some reminiscences of A.s thought in Porphyry *Abst.* 2,34, though it can hardly be called a paraphrase. **(b)** As Eusebius says in his introduction (*έκεινος ὁ Τυανεὺς Ἀπολλώνιος γράφειν τοιάδε λέγεται*), he did not get the quotation from A. directly, but from some other source. It is very likely that this other source was also Porphyry, who may have given the complete excerpt somewhere else. It fits his working method to quote a passage in one work and only to refer to it in another⁶⁴. This work was probably *Περὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν λογίων φιλοσοφίας*⁶⁵. The thought expressed seems to be typical of the Platonism of the 1st–2nd century

⁵⁶ Cf. ROHDE II (1901: 133-134); BERTERMANN (1913: 37-39); von FRITZ (1940: 55-56); see, however, JACOBY on *FGrHist* 566 F 13-17 p. 550-552.

⁵⁷ IUSTIN. 20,4,14; POLYB. 2,39,4; ATHEN. 12,22 p. 522 A (= *FGrHist* 566 F 44); DIOD. *Bibl.* 12,9.

⁵⁸ Cf. e.g. the distinction between *vómos* and *ψήφισμα*, the notion of the *πάτριος πολιτεία*, allotment of offices by beans.

⁵⁹ I do not believe, *pace* von FRITZ (1963: 212; 215), that the author transferred elements from a second stage of the Pythagorean conflict, taking place in the mid 5th century B.C., to its beginnings, since the political terminology does not fit.

⁶⁰ von FRITZ (1940: 61).

⁶¹ von FRITZ (1940: 58-64).

⁶² von FRITZ (1940: 61-62).

⁶³ Cf. BERNAYS (1866: 135-136).

⁶⁴ See NORDEN (1913: 344).

⁶⁵ Cf. DZIELSKA (1986: 139 n. 31).

A.D.: In a hierarchy of highest beings the first one consists of or is identical with pure reason (*voūç*) and has no share in the material world. Since matter is a form of pollution, its worship has to proceed by means of pure *λόγος* which excludes even prayers spoken out loud⁶⁶. It is remarkable that this opinion, though it comes quite close to the notions expressed in A.s 58th letter, seems to be completely at variance with what Philostratus tells us about A.s religious ideas. In Philostratus, A. also displays some distinctly Pythagorean characteristics, but does not demand such strict observance and admits several common forms of sacrifice⁶⁷.

⁶⁶ Cf. NORDEN (1913: 39-40); DZIELSKA (1986: 140-141).

⁶⁷ This has rightly been stressed by DZIELSKA (1986: 141; 146-147).

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1065. Damis of Niniveh?

T

- 1** PHILOSTR. *Vita Ap.* 1,3: ἐγένετο Δάμις ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄσοφος τὴν ἀρχαίαν ποτὲ
οἰκῶν Νίνον⁸ οὗτος τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ προσφιλοσοφήσας ἀποδημίας τε αὐτοῦ
ἀναγέγραφεν, ὃν κοινωνῆσαι καὶ αὐτός φησι, καὶ γνώμας καὶ λόγους καὶ
όποσα ἐξ πρόγνωσιν εἶπε. καὶ προσήκων τις τῷ Δάμιδι τὰς δέλτους τῶν
5 ὑπομνημάτων τούτων οὕπω γιγνωσκομένας ἐξ γνώσιν ἤγαγεν Ιουλίᾳ τῇ
βασιλίδι. μετέχοντι δέ μοι τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν κύκλου — καὶ γάρ τοὺς ρήτορικοὺς
πάντας λόγους ἐπήνει καὶ ἡσπάζετο — μεταγράψαι τε προσέταξε τὰς διατριβὰς
ταύτας καὶ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι, τῷ γάρ Νινίῳ σαφῶς μέν, οὐ
μὴν δεξιῶς γε ἀπηγγέλλετο.
- 10 **2** PHILOSTR. *Vita Ap.* 1,19: ἐνταῦθα διατρίβοντι (sc. Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐν Νίνῳ) (...) προσεφοίτησε Δάμις ὁ Νίνιος, ὃν καταρχὰς ἔφην ξυναποδημῆσαι οἱ καὶ
ξυνέμπορον γενέσθαι τῆς σοφίας πάσης καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διασώσασθαι
(...). ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀστύριος προστόξατο αὐτὸν, ὡς ταῦτα ἥκουσε, καὶ ὥσπερ
15 δαιμόνα ἔβλεπε, συνήν τε αὐτῷ ἐπιδιδοὺς τὴν σοφίαν καὶ ὅ τι μάθοι
μνημονεύων. φωνὴ δὲ ἦν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ξυμμέτρως πράττουσα, τὸ γάρ λογοειδὲς
οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀτε παιδευθεὶς ἐν βαρβάροις, διατριβὴν δὲ ἀναγράψαι καὶ
συνουσίαν καὶ ὅ τι ἥκουσεν ἢ εἶδεν ἀνατυπῶσαι καὶ ὑπόμνημα τῶν τοιούτων
ξυνθεῖναι σφόδρα ἱκανὸς ἦν καὶ ἐπετήδευε τοῦτο ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων. ἡ γοῦν
δέλτος ἡ τῶν ἐκφαντισμάτων τοιούτον τῷ Δάμιδι νοῦν εἶχεν ὁ Δάμις ἐβούλετο
20 μηδὲν τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου ἀγνοεῖσθαι, ἀλλ’ εἴ τι καὶ παρεφθέγξατο ἢ <ἀμελῶς>
εἶπεν, ἀναγεγράφαι καὶ τοῦτο (...).
- 3** PHILOSTR. *Vita Ap.* 8,29: τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐξ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Τυανέα Δάμιδι τῷ
Ἀσσυρίῳ ἀναγεγραμμένα ἐξ τόνδε τὸν λόγον τελευτᾶ, περὶ γάρ τρόπου, καθ'
ὄν ἐτελεύτα, εἴγε ἐτελεύτα, πλείους μὲν λόγοι, Δάμιδι δὲ οὐδεὶς εἴρηται.

1065. Damis of Niniveh?

T

1 In ancient Nineveh, there once lived a quite sensible man called Damis. He shared Apollonius' philosophical discussions and recorded his travels, in which, he says, he himself also took part. He also recorded his opinions, words and prophecies. And one of Damis' relatives brought the tablets of these memoirs, not yet known, to the notice of the Empress Julia Domna. Since I belonged to the circle of her friends—she appreciated and liked all kinds of rhetorical speech—she demanded that I rewrite these treatises and take especial care of stylistic matters, since the man of Nineveh had written clearly, but without any rhetorical grace.

2 When he stayed there (sc. Apollonius at Nineveh) Damis of Nineveh approached him, who—as I said at the beginning—accompanied him on his journeys, shared his wisdom and preserved much of his memory. (...) When the Assyrian had heard it, he worshipped him and regarded him as a god, and stayed together with him improving on his wisdom and remembering everything that he had learned. The language of the Assyrian was of average quality. He lacked rhetorical skill, because he was educated in a barbarian country. However, when it came to writing down discourses and conversations, to describing what he had heard or seen, and to composing a record of these matters, he showed great ability and surpassed everyone else. In fact, the purpose of Damis' scrap book was this: Regarding Apollonius, Damis wanted nothing to remain unknown, but wrote down everything, if he had said it casually or by the way.

3 This is the last story that Damis, the Assyrian, wrote down about Apollonius of Tyana. For there are several versions about the manner of his death, if he died at all, but none by Damis.

⁸ Νινίῳ Bentley : Νίνῳ *codd.* ⁹ ἀπηγγέλλετο *codd.* : ἀπήγγελτο *Cobet* ¹² σοφίας π : φιλοσοφίας
p. *codd. secund. fam.* ²⁰ ὀμελῶς *suffl.* *Kayser*

1065. Damis of Niniveh?

Introduction

Philostratus says in his *Life of Apollonius* that his account of Apollonius' travels is mainly based on the *Memoirs of Apollonius* written by Apollonius' pupil Damis of Niniveh (T 1). He introduces him into the narrative in 1,19—Philostratus' source for Apollonius' youth being Maximus of Aegeae (1066)—, making Apollonius meet him at Niniveh (T 2). Afterwards, D. is presented as Apollonius' companion throughout the whole story of his travels and life¹. He is removed from the scene only in 8,19 (T 3), shortly before Apollonius disappears. Since D.s account is often quite fantastic and in many instances the chronological references are plainly wrong, it is clear that D.s *Hypomnemata* had a fictional character and that D. as a companion of Apollonius is a fictitious person. There is, however, some disagreement about whether D. is the pseudonym of another real author² or whether his person and his work have been merely invented by Philostratus³. Perhaps the latter solution is preferable for the following reasons: Philostratus asserts that D.s work was written clearly, but lacked stylistic elegance, and that he himself transposed it into rhetorical language. Thus, he lays claim only to its form, but not to its content. However, regarding the descriptions of the travels or Apollonius' conversations with D. it becomes clear that they are closely modelled on historical or philosophical sources. Apollonius' journey to the East for example is heavily indebted to Herodotus, Xenophon, Ctesias and Nearchus. The form and content of the narrative can not be so strictly separated. It is often hard to see what D.

¹ Philostratus permanently refers to D. as his source. I only give the most important testimonies.

² Cf. e.g. REITZENSTEIN (1906: 40-41): "Den von Moiragenes gesammelten Stoff verband noch im zweiten Jahrhundert ein Pythagorist mit einer Reise-Aretalogie und nahm, um ihn gänzlich umgestalten zu können und dennoch Glauben zu finden, die Person eines angeblich barbarischen Reisebegleiters des Propheten, eines unphilosophischen schlichten Mannes, Damis, des Assyriens aus Hierapolis, an"; NORDEN (1913: 37 n. 1): "An der Fälschung der Damismemoiren ist ebensowenig zu zweifeln wie an der Realität ihrer Existenz. Diejenigen, die behaupten, sie beruhen bloß auf einer Fiktion des Philostratos, können diesen nicht gelesen haben"; SCHMID II 1 (1920: 379 n. 1); SPEYER (1974: 50-52); ANDERSON (1986: 155-173), on his misconceived arguments see EDWARDS (1991: 563-566).

³ MILLER (1907: 511-525); MEYER II (1924: 133-146); BOWIE (1978: 1653-1671); DZIELSKA (1986: 19-49).

could have written in simple language, because everything depends on given literary motifs⁴. This in turn suggests that the content of D.s memoirs, and consequently D. himself, are also Philostratus' own fabrication. One can rule out the possibility that the humble Assyrian D. had an extensive reading of Greek classics at his command⁵. Furthermore, it is common novelistic practice to pretend that the narrative is based on the report of an eye-witness. The technique can be studied for example in the Trojan novels of Dictys and Dares and in Antonius Diogenes' *Wonders Beyond Thule*. It appears that Philostratus himself invented D. as an eye-witness authority for his story in accordance with this practice⁶. Nevertheless, one might still argue against this that D.s work was a novel employing the same technique, which was used by Philostratus⁷. However, this hypothesis is quite unlikely in the face of Philostratus' remarks on the character and the history of D.s work, which he claims to be bringing before the reader for the first time. Finally, D.s dramatic role in Philostratus' novel seems to suggest that he is a fictional character. If the assumption is accepted that D. was invented by Philostratus, one might ask further, why he chose this particular name⁸. The answer may lie behind the story that D.s book was offered by one of his descendants to Julia Domna (T 1). Perhaps it is a hidden allusion to Flavianus Damianus, a famous sophist of the late 2nd century A.D. from Ephesus⁹, who was personally known to Philostratus and much admired by him. Maybe it was he who told Philostratus about Apollonius' activities in the cities of Western Asia Minor and especially in Ephesus, which would also account for the large amount of the, apparently genuine, local folklore of these cities which we find in Philostratus' work. Perhaps the name Damis was meant as a kind of homage to the recently deceased Damianus.

⁴ Cf. MEYER II (1924: 140-141); see, however, ANDERSON (1986: 157) who seems to misrepresent MEYER's argument.

⁵ For a similar line of argument concerning the political events cf. BOWIE (1978: 1662).

⁶ Cf. MEYER II (1924: 146) and especially BOWIE (1978: 1663-1667). Maybe Philostratus invented D. as a contemporary authority to refute Moeragenes' (1067) account (*πολλὰ δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀγνοήσαντι*), cf. MILLER (1907: 523); MEYER II (1924: 155).

⁷ Thus REITZENSTEIN (1906: 40-45); SPEYER (1974: 50-52).

⁸ Cf. BOWIE (1978: 1670-1671) for the following hypothesis.

⁹ PIR² III F 253.

Commentary on the Testimonies

(1) D. is introduced in fairy-tale manner. "There was Damis, a man ...". According to Philostratus D. wrote *Hypomnemata*, which were handed over to Julia Domna by a relative of his. That the empress is involved in the story does not contradict the hypothesis that D. is a fictitious character¹⁰. The fiction hardly abuses Julia Domna's name, but, on the contrary, is rather a skilful homage to her, since the work thus appears to be laid at her door. She does not only encourage Philostratus to write his books, but also provides him, through her connection with D., with suitable material. Altogether, the whole story seems to be a literary device to introduce a flattering dedication. Similarly Nero appears in the Dictys novel, which he is said to have had translated from the Phoenician¹¹, and the Emperor Hadrian is connected with Apollonius' book on Pythagoras (1064). Since Philostratus appears to have modelled his own work at least partly on Apollonius' *Life of Pythagoras*, he might also have taken over this literary motif from it.

(2) Philostratus makes D. meet Apollonius in ancient (!) Niniveh, which he locates erroneously—after Ctesias—west of the Euphrates in the Roman Empire¹². Maybe he chose this city as D.s home in order to pay a further compliment to the Empress Julia Domna, who came from Syria. Since it is D.s first appearance and his literary function is quite important for the following story, Philostratus takes great care to describe the nature of D.s writing: D.s *Hypomnemata* are detailed and constitute a correct eyewitness report, but completely lack rhetorical skill. It is exactly this overall functionality of D.s memoirs that seems to suggest that they were Philostratus' own invention.

(3) Philostratus makes D. retire from the scene shortly before Apollonius' end. Since Apollonius does not die, but mysteriously disappears, there seems to be no room for an eyewitness. Perhaps Philostratus also wanted to incorporate the different traditions on Apollonius' death. D. had apparently fulfilled his dramatic purposes. Again his functionality seems to argue in favour of the hypothesis that he was a character created by Philostratus himself¹³.

¹⁰ Cf. BOWIE (1978: 1663) against SPEYER (1974: 49).

¹¹ BOWIE (1978: 1663).

¹² Cf. MEYER II (1924: 135-136).

¹³ Cf. MEYER II (1924: 186-187).

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1066. Maximus of Aegeae

(2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 PHILOSTR. *Vita Ap.* 1,3: ἐνέτυχον δὲ καὶ Μαξίμου τοῦ Αἰγιέως βιβλίῳ
ξυνειληφότι τὰ ἐν Αἴγαις Ἀπολλωνίου πάντα.

2 PHILOSTR. *Vita Ap.* 1,12: κάκεινα τῆς ἐν Αἴγαις διατριβῆς· Κιλίκων ἦρχεν
νύβριστὴς ἄνθρωπος καὶ κακὸς τὰ ἔρωτικά· ἐξ τοῦτον ἥλθε λόγος τῆς
5 'Απολλωνίου ὥρας, ὃ δὲ ἐρρώσθαι φράσας οἷς ἐπραττεν, ἐν Ταρσοῖς δὲ ἅρα
ἀγορὰν ἦγεν, ἔξωρμήθη ἐξ τὰς Αἴγαις νοσεῖν τε ἐαυτὸν φόσας καὶ τοῦ
'Ασκληπιοῦ δεῖσθαι, καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ βαδίζοντι ἵδιᾳ “σύστησόν
με,” ἔφη, “τῷ θεῷ.” ὃ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν “καὶ τί σοι δεῖ τοῦ συστήσοντος,” εἶπεν,
“εἰς χρηστὸς εἶ; τοὺς γὰρ σπουδαίους οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ἄνευ τῶν προξενούντων
10 ἀσπάζονται.” — “ὅτι νὴ Δί,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, σὲ μὲν ὁ θεός πεποίηται ξένον,
ἐμὲ δὲ οὐπω.” — “ἄλλὰ κάμου,” ἔφη, “καλοκάγαθία προύξενησεν, ἥ χρώμενος,
ώς δυνατὸν νέω, θεράπων τέ είμι τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἑταῖρος· εἰ δὲ καὶ σοὶ
καλοκάγαθίας μέλει, χώρει θαρρῶν παρὰ τὸν θεὸν καὶ εὔχου, ὃ τι ἐθέλεις.”
“νὴ Δί,” εἶπεν, “ἡν σοὶ γε προτέρῳ εὔξωμαι.” — “καὶ τί,” ἔφη, “ἐμοὶ εὔξῃ;”
15 “ὦ,” ἥ δ' ὅς, “εὐχεσθαι δεῖ τοῖς καλοῖς εὐχόμεθα δὲ αὐτοῖς κοινωνεῖν τοῦ
κάλλους καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν τῆς ὥρας.” ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθρύπτων ἐαυτὸν καὶ
τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς ὑγραίνων καὶ τί γὰρ οὐχ ἐλίττων τῶν οὕτως ἀσελγῶν τε καὶ
ἐπιπρήτων· ὃ δὲ ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας αὐτὸν “μαίνη,” ἔφη, “ὦ κάθαρμα.” τοῦ δ'
οὐ μόνον πρὸς ὄργην ταῦτα ἀκούσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπειλήσαντος, ώς ἀποκόψοι
20 αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν, καταγελάσας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος “ὦ ἡ δεῖνα ήμέρα” ἀνεβόησε·
τρίτη δὲ ἅρα ἦν ἀπ' ἐκείνης, ἐν ἥ δήμιοι κατὰ τὴν ὄδὸν ἀπέκτειναν τὸν
νύβριστὴν ἐκείνον, ώς ξὺν Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ Καππαδοκίας βασιλεῖ νεώτερα ἐπὶ
Ρωμαίους πράττοντα. Ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα Μαξίμῳ τῷ Αἰγιεῖ
ξυγγέγραπται, ἡξιώθη δὲ καὶ βασιλείων ἐπιστολῶν οὗτος εὐδοκιμῶν τὴν
25 φωνήν.

¹¹ κάμε (suprascr. οὐ) π : κάμε β, codd. secund. fam. ¹⁷ οὐχ ἐλίττων (sic) π : οὐ λέγων β^{ορτηρ} :
οὐκ ἐλάττων codd. secund. fam.

1066. Maximus of Aegeae

(2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 I also came across a book by Maximus of Aegeae containing all the deeds
of Apollonius in Aegeae.

2 During his (*sc.* Apollonius) stay in Aegeae, the following happened: The
Cilicians were governed by a wicked and lecherous man. When he heard
that Apollonius was a beautiful youth, he gave up his present business—he
just held court at Tarsus—and went to Aegeae pretending to be ill and in
need of Asclepius' help. And he approached Apollonius as he was walking by
himself and said to him "Introduce me to the god." Apollonius answered:
"Why do you need someone to introduce you, if you are an honest man. For
the gods welcome righteous people, even if nobody introduces them."—
"Because, Apollonius," the man replied, "the god has already made you his
guest, but not me." Apollonius said: "But in my case, too, it was a blameless
character that recommended me. Behaving virtuously as much as possible
for a young man I became servant and attendant of Asclepius. If you, too,
care for virtue, do not worry, but go right ahead and pray to the god for
what you want."—"Yes," the man said, "that I will do, after I have first
asked you for a favour."—"What kind of favour?", said Apollonius. And the
man answered: "What we usually ask the beautiful. We ask them to share
their beauty and not to withhold their bloom jealously." When he said this,
he grew soft, his eyes moistened and he made all the movements which the
lewd and infamous make. But Apollonius looked sternly at him and said:
"You are mad, you scum of the earth!" When he heard this, the man not
only moved to anger, but also threatened him that he would have his head
cut off. But Apollonius laughed and exclaimed: "Mark the day!" And on the
third day following that day, public executioners killed the wicked man on
his way, because he had conspired with Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia,
against the Romans. This and many similar stories have been written down
by Maximus of Aegeae, a famous orator, who was also appointed imperial
secretary.

1066. Maximus of Aegeae

(2nd cent. A.D.)

Introduction

Maximus of Aegeae¹, who can be dated roughly to the 2nd century A.D., is only mentioned by Philostratus. His existence has been doubted for no sufficient reason². Philostratus portrays M. as a typical sophist, and says that at some stage he became Imperial secretary *ab epistulis Graecis*, an office that seems to have been first established under the emperor Hadrian³. According to him, M.s work contained an account of Apollonius' activity in the Asclepieion at Aegeae (*τὰ ἐν Αἰγαῖς Ἀπολλωνίου πάντα*). These words have generally been taken to refer to a biography comprising only Apollonius' youth, which M. wrote to supplement Moeragene's (1067) comprehensive work⁴. There are, however, some flaws in this picture. The tendency of M.s work, especially the remarks against Tarsus⁵, suggests that it originated more from patriotism and rivalry between Aegeae and other centres of Asclepean cult⁶ than from a wish to complement an existing biography of Apollonius. M., whose social profile makes it likely that he had some connection with the local Asclepieion himself⁷, might have written about Apollonius' wondrous works at the sanctuary to establish its superiority over Tarsus. Moreover, as to the nature of the work, it appears quite odd that a biography should have been written only on Apollonius' youth⁸. Therefore, another hypothesis is

perhaps more convincing. It is possible that M.s description of Apollonius' life at Aegeae was only a part of a larger work. In view of its local-patriotic tendency this may have well been a local history of Aegeae and its sanctuary rather than a biography⁹.

Commentary on the Testimonies

(1) The testimony comes from Philostratus' chapter on his sources. M. is introduced briefly as an authority for the events in Aegeae¹⁰. The city was held in high esteem by the Severan dynasty and by Alexander Severus in particular, who conferred some honours upon it¹¹. This might also account for the prominence it has in Philostratus' work.

(2) Apollonius is presented as belonging to the cult personnel of the Asclepieion of Aegeae¹². The story is dated by the reference to Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, who was taken to court by Tiberius in A.D. 17¹³. As to the ingredients of the folklore, it is difficult to tell to what extent historical events are reflected in them. The man who makes advances to Apollonius is said to be the ruler of Cilicia and is portrayed—although it is not stated explicitly—as an unjust provincial governor, who is arrested afterwards on the charge of treason¹⁴. Cilicia Pedias was attached to the province of Syria at that time¹⁵, which was governed by Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus¹⁶. The reference can, however, hardly be to him¹⁷, since he was recalled in A.D. 17 for political reasons without being charged. Hence it appears that the tale is perhaps simply a particular adaption of the literary motif of the corrupt official¹⁸. It is an intriguing ques-

¹ On the different spellings of the city cf. HIRSCHFELD (1893: 945).

² MEYER II (1924: 166-169) regards M. as a fictitious authority for the following reasons: (1) M.s treatise fits all too well into the structure of Philostratus' work. (2) It is difficult to see why someone should write only about Apollonius' youth. (3) The entire chronology seems to go back to Philostratus. See, however, SCHMID II 1 (1920: 379 n. 1); BOWIE (1978: 1684-1685); GRAF (1984: 67-68).

³ Cf. GRAF (1984: 67).

⁴ Cf. e.g. REITZENSTEIN (1906: 40); BOWIE (1978: 1684).

⁵ BOWIE (1978: 1685).

⁶ ROBERT (1973: 185 n. 91); GRAF (1984: 70-71).

⁷ A similar case is the sophist P. Anteius Antiochus mentioned by PHILOSTR. *Vit. soph.* 2,4 who also came from Aegeae and stayed at its Asclepieion, cf. ROBERT (1973: 184); GRAF (1984: 70).

⁸ Cf. MEYER II (1924: 166) arguing that M. is invented by Philostratus: "... daß man nicht recht begreift, wie jemand dazu gekommen sein sollte, eine eigene Schrift lediglich über die ersten Jugendjahre des Mannes zu schreiben, in denen er noch keinerlei bedeutende Wirkung ausüben konnte."

⁹ Cf. already ROBERT (1973: 185 n. 91): "c'était faire le récit d'un épisode considéré comme marquant—de l'histoire du sanctuaire, qui tirait alors illustration d'un séjour du saint homme en sa jeunesse; c'était un écrit de propagande pieuse."

¹⁰ They are described in *Vita Ap.* 1,7-13.

¹¹ On Aegeae and especially the Asclepieion see ROBERT (1973: 161-211); WEISS (1982: 191-205); ZIEGLER (1985: 50-51; 93-94); ID. (1994: 184-212).

¹² Cf. on this function especially ROBERT (1973: 187-188).

¹³ Cf. TAC. *Ann.* 2,42; SUET. *Tib.* 37,4; DIO CASS. 57,17,3-7 (*ώς καὶ νεωτεριζούτα τι*).

¹⁴ MEYER (1924: 167).

¹⁵ DIO CASS. 49,22,3; TAC. *Ann.* 2,4; 2,58; SUET. *Vesp.* 8,4; MAGIE (1950: 563 n. 68; 576 n. 27).

¹⁶ Cf. on him PIR² II C 64; DABROWA (1998: 30-32).

¹⁷ Pace GRAF (1984: 67).

¹⁸ However, there is still another possibility. The successor of Silanus in Syria was Piso, whose prosecution and death were famous throughout the Roman world. Maybe the story in some way reflects his destiny.

tion whether the entire story goes back to M. or whether Philostratus made some additions. In view of Philostratus' working method¹⁹, in fact, it appears that it was he who added the reference to Archelaus. He not only promises to establish an exact chronology of Apollonius' life²⁰ at the beginning of this work, but is also found guilty of chronological inaccuracies in other cases when trying to render the story of his hero consistent with the events recorded in the general history of the period. It has been argued that there was a large chronological gap between the events at Aegeae in A.D. 17 and Apollonius' departure for the East in the forties (1,19) and that therefore the dating to Archelaus' times belonged to M., the episode being incorporated by Philostratus despite the chronological difficulties it caused towards the rest of historical tradition²¹. However, it seems to me that the chronology of A.s life, as given by Philostratus, is quite consistent in itself and that the supposed gap arises from his lack of precise knowledge and his mechanical disposition of the ages rather than from any differences between particular historical traditions. Apollonius' stay in Aegeae is dated to his youth, his travels to his *floruit*, and so on. Such a solution, however, does not imply that M. is only a fictitious authority²².

¹⁹ See MEYER II (1924: 169).

²⁰ PHILOSTR. *Vita Ap.* 1,2: Δοκεῖ οὖν μοι μὴ περιιδεῖν τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἄγνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἐξακριβώσαι τὸν ἄνδρα τοὺς τε χρόνοις, καθ' οὓς εἶπέ τι ἡ ἐπράξε (...). On the chronology in general cf. MEYER II (1924: 166-169).

²¹ Thus GRAF (1984: 69); cf. already BOWIE (1978: 1684).

²² *Contra* MEYER II (1924: 169).

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1067. Moeragenes

(1st 2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 PHILOSTR. *Vita Ap.* 1,3: (...) καὶ διαθῆκαι δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ γεγράφαται, παρ' ὃν ὑπάρχει μαθεῖν, ὡς ὑποθειάζων τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐγένετο. οὐ γὰρ Μοιραγένει γε προσεκτέον, βιβλία μὲν ἔνθεντι ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον τέτταρα, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀγνοήσαντι.

2 PHILOSTR. *Vita Ap.* 3,41: τῆς μὲν οὖν διαλεκτικῆς ἔνυνουσίας ἀμφω μετεῖχον, τὰς δὲ ἀπορρήτους σπουδάς, αἵς ἀστρικήν [ἥ] μαντείαν κατενόουν καὶ τὴν πρόγνωσιν ἐσπούδαζον, θυσιῶν τε ἥπτοντο καὶ κλήσεων, αἵς θεοὶ χαίρουσι. μόνον φησὶν ὁ Δάμις τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἔνυμφιλοσοφεῖν τῷ Ιάρχᾳ, καὶ ἔνγράψαι μὲν ἐκεῖθεν περὶ μαντείας ἀστέρων βίβλους τέτταρας, ὃν καὶ

Μοιραγένης ἐπεμνήσθη, ἔνγράψαι δὲ περὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ὡς ἂν τις ἐκάστω θεῶν προσφόρως τε καὶ κεχαρισμένως θύοι. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην μαντικήν πᾶσαν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἡγοῦμαι φύσιν καὶ οὐδ' εἰ κέκτηται τις οἶδα, τὸ δὲ περὶ θυσιῶν ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν ιεροῖς εὐρόν, ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ πόλεσιν, πολλοῖς δὲ ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν οἴκοις, καὶ τί ὅν τις ἔρμηνεύοι αὐτὸν σεμνῶς ἔντεταγμένον καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡχὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός;

3 ORIG. *C. Cels.* 6,41: (...) ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐπικαιρότερα χρὴ λέγειν πρὸς τὸ Κέλσου σύγγραμμα, περὶ μαγείας φαμὲν, ὅτι ὁ βουλόμενος ἐξετάσαι, πότερόν ποτε καὶ φιλόσοφοι ἀλλοτοί εἰσιν αὐτῇ ἥ μή, ἀναγνώτω τὰ γεγραμένα Μοιραγένει Τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυναέως μάγου καὶ φιλοσόφου ἀπομνημονευμάτων: ἐν οἷς ὁ μὴ Χριστιανὸς ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφος ἔφησεν ἀλῶναι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀπολλωνίῳ μαγείᾳς οὐκ ἀγεννεῖς τινας φιλοσόφους ὡς πρὸς γόητα αὐτὸν εἰσελθόντας: ἐν οἷς οἵμαι καὶ περὶ Εὐφράτου <τοῦ> πάνυ διηγήσατο καὶ τινος Ἐπικουρείου.

4 PLUT. *Quaest. conv.* 4,6,1 p. 671C-672C: θαυμάσας οὖν τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσι ρῆθὲν ὁ Σύμμαχος “ἄρ” “ἔφη” “σὺ τὸν πατριώτην θεόν (*sc.* Διόνυσον), ὁ Λαμπρία, ... ἐγγράφεις καὶ ὑποποιεῖς τοῖς Ἐβραίων ἀπορρήτοις; ἢ τῷ ὅντι λόγος ἔστι τις ὁ τοῦτον ἐκείνῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποφάινων; ο δὲ Μοιραγένης ὑπολαβὼν “ἔσα τοῦτον,” εἶπεν: “ἔγὼ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖος ὃν ἀπκρίνομαι σοι καὶ λέγω μηδέν” ἄλλον εἶναι: (...).”

⁶ ἥ del. *Kayser* ¹⁴ καὶ τί *codd.*, *Kayser*: καὶ τοι *post Olearium multi edd. perperam* ²² τοῦ *suppl.* *Koetschau post Bouhéreau* ²³ πᾶσι *Reiske*: πᾶν *T*

1067. Moeragenes

(1st–2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 (...) and there is testament written by Apollonius, from which it can be gleaned what an inspired philosopher he was. One should not believe Moeragenes, at any rate, who wrote four books on Apollonius but is very ignorant about him.

2 Both of them took part in the common conversations, but—according to Damis—it was Apollonius alone who shared the secret philosophical studies with Iarchas, in which they concerned themselves with astrological divination, studied knowledge of the future, and discussed what kind of sacrifices and invocations are dear to the gods. Resulting from these studies, Apollonius composed four books *On Astrological Divination*, referred to also by Moeragenes, and also a book *On Sacrifices* and on how one might make adequate and pleasing offerings to each god. Everything he writes about stars and astrological divination is, I think, entirely above human nature, and I do not even know whether anyone has these writings in his possession. As for the book on sacrifices, however, I have found it in many sanctuaries, in many cities, and in many houses of wise men, and it is needless to say that it is a first class composition and has the ring of the man himself.

3 To put forward a strong argument against Celsus' treatise: Whoever wants to find out if even philosophers are enchanted at times by magic or not, let him read, I say, read the *Memoirs of the Magician and Philosopher Apollonius of Tyana* written by Moeragenes, where the author, who is not a Christian, but a philosopher, says that some renowned philosophers succumbed to Apollonius' magic powers on their visits to the magician. Among them, I think, he also mentions the famous Euphrates and some Epicurean.

4 Surprised about the last words, Symmachus said: “Lamprias, is it only you who registers and assigns the national god (*sc.* Dionysus) (...) to the Jewish religion, or is there really any argument to prove that both gods are identical?” But Moeragenes interposed and said: “Leave him. I, an Athenian, will answer you and say, that he is no other. (...).”

5 INSCR. SEG 14,129 (SHEAR, *Hesperia* 5 [1936], p. 16-17): Μοιραγένης
 30 Δρομοκλέονς ἐκ Κοίλης ἐπώνυμος Ἰπποθωντίδος φυλῆς.

Uncertain Testimony

6 APOLL. TYAN. EPP. 62-63 (L_rN_p^mT^mM_z^mV^mRL_l^m), p. 4 PENELLA: (...) ταῦτα (sc. ep. 62) ἀναγνούς (sc. ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος) οὐκ ἔχαυνάθη ταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ὡστε ἀποκρίνεσθαι τὰ κεχαρισμένα καὶ μὴ τάληθη, ἵδων δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐ πάνυ Λακωνικούς, οὐχ ἡσθείς αὐτοῖς ἀντεπιτίθησι τήνδε τὴν 35 ἐπιστολήν (sc. ep. 63): (...)

F

ΑΠΙΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ Α-Δ
 (T 1-3; 6?)

5 Moeragenes, son of Dromocles, of the deme Coele, eponymus of the tribe Hippothontis.

Uncertain Testimony

6 (...) Reading it Apollonius did not get puffed up by the honours and the praises so as to give agreeable instead of true answers, but noticing that the messengers were unlike true Spartans, he was displeased with them and returned to them the following letter: (...)

F

MEMOIRS OF THE MAGICIAN AND
 PHILOSOPHER APOLLONIUS OF TYANA 1-4
 (T 1-3; 6?)

1067. Moeragenes
(1st–2nd cent. A.D.)

Introduction

Moeragenes, author of a biography of Apollonius in four books (T 1), remains an obscure figure. He can be dated roughly to the 1st – 2nd century A.D. He is possibly to be identified with M. of Athens, who is mentioned by Plutarch in his *Quaestiones convivales* (T 4)¹, and to whom and whose family several Athenian inscriptions of Hadrianic times (T 5) may also refer². As the title of the work ἀπομνημονεύματα and the number of books show, the Xenophontic work on Socrates served M. as a model³. This implies that he presented his protagonist in a positive light⁴. There is no suggestion in our testimonies of any negative tendencies, and it is hard to believe in four books of hostile memoirs⁵. M.s biography apparently included a description both of Apollonius' magical powers⁶ and of his philosophical thought (T 3)⁷. It also seems to have already contained an account of Apollonius' quarrel with the Stoic Euphrates and some other philosopher. Further contents can only be reconstructed through inferences from Philostratus' biography and Apollonius' letters. It is possible that the Neo-Pythagorean streak in Apollonius' picture, as expressed also in his quarrel with the Stoic Euphrates, was already existent, if not prevalent, in M.s work⁸. The same may also apply to Apollonius' Hellenism and his critical attitude towards Roman emperors⁹. It would be interesting to know

¹ MEYER II (1924 : 150); BOWIE (1978: 1678-1679).

² BOWIE (1978: 1679).

³ BOWIE (1978: 1674).

⁴ BOWIE (1978: 1674); RAYNOR (1984: 223).

⁵ Contra SPEYER (1974: 60); ANDERSON (1986: 299-300).

⁶ Cf. e.g. MEYER II (1924: 150): "ein mit magischen Zauberkräften begabter Theosoph"; and SPEYER (1976: 50), who assume that M. presented Apollonius mainly as a γόνος.

⁷ Cf. especially BOWIE (1978: 1674-1676), who argues against MEYER for a more "Socratic Apollonius"; finally RAYNOR (1984: 223-225), who rightly points out that M.s picture of A. may have included both aspects. In the case of a Pythagorean, magic and philosophy are particularly closely connected.

⁸ SCHMID II 1 (1920: 380): "Dann haben sich die Pythagoreer der Figur bemächtigt und ihr ein Leben im Stil der Pythagorasbiographie angedichtet— vielleicht Maximos von Aigai (dieser nur für die Jugendgeschichte) und Moiragenes." BOWIE (1978: 1674-1678); but cf. also REITZENSTEIN (1906: 40); SPEYER (1974: 50), who attribute the Neo-Pythagorean tendency to Damis (1065).

⁹ Cf. BOWIE (1978: 1680-1684).

whether M. also quoted from the extant letters of Apollonius, as does Philostratus. A fragment of text connecting Apollonius' epp. 62 and 63 (T 6) could be taken to indicate that those letters, and perhaps most of the others, were incorporated into a biography¹⁰, which might well have been M.s work¹¹.

Commentary on the Testimonies

(1) In the chapter on his sources Philostratus contrasts M. with his other authorities Damis of Niniveh (1065) and Maximus of Aegeae (1066) and dismisses him on the general charge of ignorance without any further reference to the content of his work. It may have been for an emphasis on Apollonius' involvement in magic that M. incurred Philostratus' criticism¹², though it seems to be more likely that it arose simply out of literary rivalry. M.s comprehensive memoirs in four books were perhaps the standard biography on Apollonius which Philostratus wanted to supersede¹³. He probably drew much of his material from it, despite his objections.

(2) Philostratus quotes M. as an authority for Apollonius' otherwise obscure books about astrological oracles (Περὶ μαντείας ἀστερῶν)¹⁴. His words do not imply that M. also gave an account of Apollonius' travels to India; on the contrary, it seems rather likely that M. only referred to Apollonius' work in passing and that Philostratus thus found reason to supply a story about its origin. Again Philostratus' attitude towards M. appears to be quite competitive. In fact, he tries to surpass him and to show M.s ignorance by adding the title of another work (Περὶ θυσιῶν), which he claims was unknown to his ignorant predecessor even though it was to be found in many places¹⁵.

(3) Trying to refute Celsus' statement that only simple minds are taken in by magic, while philosophers are immune to it, Origenes adduces M.s story about how Apollonius enchanted the Stoic Euphrates and some Epicurean philosopher, as the testimony of a

¹⁰ Cf. REGENBOGEN quoted by DIELS (1918: 77 n. 1); MEYER II (1924: 177-178); BOWIE (1978: 1676-1678). See, however, PENELLA (1979: 4).

¹¹ Cf. BOWIE (1978: 1678): "As a working hypothesis, however, I would wish to regard the passage (...) as a fragment of Moiragenes."

¹² Cf. MEYER II (1924: 155); RAYNOR (1984: 225-226).

¹³ See BOWIE (1978: 1673).

¹⁴ Cf. on 1064. APOLLONIUS T 9.

¹⁵ BOWIE (1978: 1675-1676).

pagan intellectual. He accordingly places particular emphasis upon Apollonius' magic powers, but nevertheless calls him both magician and philosopher. Although Origenes' words may be slightly biased, they allow us to form some notion about the form and the content of M.s work. Its title ἀπομνημονεύματα Ἀπολλωνίου indicates that it took the form of memoirs. Like the known examples, it probably contained a description of Apollonius' *Life and Opinions*, thus building up a complex picture of his personality, which also included his philosophy. It also told of Apollonius' quarrel with Euphrates and other philosophers, which is also referred to by Philostratus and Apollonius' epistles, and which showed his superiority.

(4) M. of Athens is perhaps to be identified with M., the writer of the memoirs. At any rate, they were alive at the same time. Since Plutarch's *Quaestiones convivales* were published during the 1st decade of the 2nd century A.D., M. seems to have lived about that time. Furthermore, Plutarch makes him argue—with ludicrous arguments—for the identification of Dionysus with the God of the Jews, which would be very much in the vein of an author of Apollonius' memoirs¹⁶.

(5) The text is the subscription to a herme of M.¹⁷ Stylistically the work of art can be dated to the end of the Hadrianic or the beginning of the Antonine reign¹⁸. M. is called eponymus of the phyle Hippothontis, a title accorded to patrons or benefactors who gave financial support to the prytaneis to perform their duties¹⁹. There are several other inscriptions referring to the same family²⁰. It is quite remarkable that a daughter of M. was apparently called Pythagora, which seems to point to some philosophical interest in the family²¹.

(6) In the epistolary work attributed to Apollonius, several manuscripts insert this passage between the 62nd and 63rd letter. If it is genuine, it shows that the letters were incorporated into a biography, which might have been M.s work. Some doubts have been raised as to the authenticity of the text. The remarks have been rejected as a scribe's attempt to explain discrepancies in content between the two

¹⁶ Cf. MEYER II (1924: 150 n. 1): “(...) derartiges könnte in seiner Schrift über Apollonios sehr wohl gestanden haben.”

¹⁷ The text was first published by SHEAR (1936: 16-17).

¹⁸ See especially HARRISON (1953: 35-37).

¹⁹ Cf. OLIVER (1941: 3). The first dated example, *IG* II² 1764, belongs to A.D. 138/139.

²⁰ *IG* II² 1809; 6494; 6495; *SEG* 12,177; 21,876; cf. FRASER MATTHEWS II *s.v.* Μοιραγένης (7) and (8).

²¹ Cf. BOWIE (1978: 1679).

letters²². The Greek, however, is good and there is no discernible reason why a scribe should have invented a transition in this case alone.

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²² Cf. PENELLA (1979: 4 n. 15): “a scribe's attempt to explain the awkward juxtaposition of a letter in which the Spartans honor Apollonius to one in which Apollonius criticises them.”

1068. Valerius Pollio?

(1st–2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 SUDA π 2165 ε.ν. Πωλίων (193 T 1), ὁ Ἀσίνιος χρηματίσας, Τραλλιανός,
 σοφιστής καὶ φιλόσοφος: σοφιστεύσας ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Πομπηῖου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ
 διαδεξάμενος τὴν σχολὴν Τιμαγένους (88 T 4). ἔγραψεν Ἐπιτομὴν τῆς
 5 Φιλοχόρου Ἀτθίδος (328 T 8), Ἀπομνημονεύματα Μουσωνίου τοῦ
 φιλοσόφου, Ἐπιτομὴν τῶν Διοφάνους Γεωργικῶν ἐν βιβλίοις β', Πρὸς
 Ἀριστοτέλην περὶ ζῷων βιβλία 1', Περὶ τοῦ ἐμφυλίου τῆς Ῥώμης πολέμου, ὃν
 ἐπολέμησαν Καῖσάρ τε καὶ Πομπئῖος.

F

ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ ΜΟΥΣΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ

1068. Valerius Pollio?

(1st–2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 Asinius Pollio of Tralleis, sophist and philosopher, taught rhetoric in
 Rome under Pompey the Great, and took over Timagenes' school. He wrote
 an *Epitome of Philochorus' Attis*, *Memoirs of Musonius the Philosopher*, an *Epitome of
 Diophanes' Georgics* in two books, ten books *Against Aristotle on Animals*, and *On
 the Roman Civil War*, which was fought by Caesar and Pompey.

F

MEMOIRS OF MUSONIUS THE PHILOSOPHER

1068. Valerius Pollio?

(1st–2nd cent. A.D.)

Introduction

It remains uncertain which Pollio wrote the Ἀπομνημονεύματα Μουσωνίου, since the Suda confuses the works of several authors called Pollio. It might have been Annius Pollio¹, son-in-law of Barea Soranus, who was exiled with Musonius in A.D. 65². Alternatively (and this is more likely) it could be Valerius Pollio of Alexandria³, who lived in Hadrianic times and who is said to have written philosophical works⁴. The exact nature of the memoirs remains unclear. They were possibly similar in kind to Lucius' *Memoirs of Musonius*.

Commentary on the Testimony

(1) The sophist Asinius Pollio of Tralleis (*FGrHist* 193) lived in the 1st century B.C. He was probably a pupil of the historian Timagenes, whose school he is said to have taken over. As his name indicates, he was a freedman of the famous politician Asinius Pollio, who also numbered the historian Timagenes among his clients. The list of works attributed to him suffers from confusion. Simple chronology precludes Asinius Pollio from being the author of the *Memoirs of Musonius*, which are best attributed to his namesake Valerius. Asinius may have written the *Epitome of Philochorus' Atthis*⁵, though Valerius would be a suitable candidate for it, too⁶. It is equally uncertain who wrote the two agricultural treatises, the epitome of Diophanes' *Georgics* in two volumes and the work *On Animals*. They should perhaps be given to Asinius rather than to Valerius. Diophanes of Nicaea dedicated the six books of his *Georgics* to king Deiotarus († 40

¹ PIR² I A 678.

² VON FRITZ (1933: 896); VAN GEYTENBEEK (1963: 8); JAGU (1979: 9-10). According to VON ARNIM (1898: 176) the work consisted of tachygraphic notes taken from Musonius' lectures by a contemporary. This, however, is far from certain.

³ Cf. on him SUDA π 2166 s.v. Πωλίων Ἀλεξανδρεύς; δ 1150 s.v. Διόδωρος; POXY. 2192 and 3643; SCHMID II 2 (1924: 873); ALPERS (1981: 116 n. 47); KEANEY (1991: IX-X).

⁴ Cf. e.g. ZELLER III 1 (1909: 755 n. 3); SCHWARTZ (1896: 1589); HENSE (1905: XII-XIII); VON FRITZ (1933: 896).

⁵ Cf. JACOBY p. 256 on *FGrHist* 328 T 1.

⁶ SCHWARTZ (1896: 1589).

B.C.)⁷. It is possible that Asinius produced an abridged version of the work three or four decades later, exactly as Diophanes himself had done in his *Georgics* with the agricultural work of Cassius Dionysius. It seems to me that this would be very much in keeping with the way in which works of practical use—it is different with works like Philochorus' in which Atticists might take an interest—were handed down in antiquity. Finally, the *History of the Civil War* could simply be a reference to the famous work of the politician Asinius Pollio. However, it is also possible that it was translated by his freedman⁸.

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⁷ VARRO *Res rust.* 1,1,8,11.

⁸ Cf. JACOBY on *FGrHist* 193 p. 621-622.

1069 (= 156). Arrian

(c. A.D. 95–175)

T

4 Ρhot. *Bibl.* 93 p. 73 b 3: (...) μέμνηται δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ συγγραφῇ (*sc.* Ἀρριανὸς ἐν τοῖς Βιθυνιακοῖς) καὶ ἑτέρων πραγματειῶν. ὃν ἡ μὲν ὅσα Τιμολέοντι τῷ Κορινθίῳ κατὰ Σικελίαν ἐπράχθη διαλαμβάνει· ἡ δὲ τὰ Δίωνι
5 τῷ Συρακουσίῳ ὅσα ἀξιαφήγητα ἔργα ἐπετελέσθη, ἥντικα τὰς Συρακούσας καὶ πᾶσαν Σικελίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου Διονυσίου, ὃς ἦν παῖς τοῦ προτέρου, ἡλευθέρου καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, οὓς ὑπὲρ τοῦ βεβαίως τυραννεῖν Διονύσιος ἐπηγάγετο. φαίνεται δὲ τετάρτην γράφων τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ἀφήγησιν. μετὰ γὰρ τὰ περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Τιμολέοντα καὶ Δίωνα, μετὰ τὰς περὶ αὐτοὺς ιστορίας, ἥδε αὐτῷ ἡ συγγραφὴ ἐξεπονήθη (...).

F

ΤΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΙΩΝΑ?

ΤΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΙΜΟΛΕΟΝΤΑ?

ΤΙΛΛΟΡΟΒΟΥ ΒΙΟΣ

10 52 LUCIAN. *Alex.* 2: καὶ Ἀρριανὸς γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Ἐπικτήτου μαθητής, ἀνὴρ Ρωμαίων ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ παιδείᾳ παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον συγγενόμενος, ὅμοιόν τι παθών ἀπολογήσαιτ' ἀν καὶ ὑπὲρ ήμων Τιλλορόβου γοῦν τοῦ ληστοῦ κάκεινος βίον ἀναγράψαι ηξίωσεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ πολὺν ώμοτέρουν ληστοῦ μνήμην ποιησόμεθα, ὅσῳ μὴ ἐν ὕλαις καὶ ἐν ὅρεσιν, ἄλλ' ἐν πόλεσιν οὖτος
15 ἐλήστευεν, οὐ Μυσίαν μόνην οὐδὲ τὴν "Ιδην κατατρέχων οὐδὲ ὀλίγα τῆς

1069 (= 156). Arrian

(c. A.D. 95–175)

T

4 (...) In this book (*sc. the Bithyniaka*) he (*sc. Arrian*) also mentions further treatises. One of them contains the achievements of Timoleon, the Corinthian, in Sicily, the other all memorable deeds which were accomplished by Dion, the Syracusan, when he liberated Syracuse and the whole of Sicily from Dionysius II, who was the son of Dionysius I, and from the barbarians Dionysius had called in to secure his regime. Obviously, the history of his native country (*sc. the Bithyniaka*) was the fourth work he wrote. Because he finished this book after his works on Alexander, on Timoleon and on Dion, after the histories about those (...).

F

ABOUT DION?

ABOUT TIMOLEON?

LIFE OF TILLOROBUS

52 In fact, Arrian, the disciple of Epictetus, a man who ranked among the first Romans and who was attached to learning throughout his life, might also speak in our defence, since something similar happened to him. At least, he also thought it worthwhile to write a life of Tillorobus, the brigand. We, however, will tell of a brigand who is much fiercer, insofar as this man practised robbery not in mountain forests, but in cities, pillaging not only

¹ ταύτη *M*: ταύτη αὐτῇ *A* ⁷ μετὰ γὰρ *A* (γὰρ *add. A² ut videtur*): μετά τε *M* ⁸ τὰ περὶ Ἀλ-...
 Δίωνα *M*: *om. A* ⁸⁻⁹ μετὰ τὰς ... ιστορίας *MA*: *del. Bekker* ¹² Τιλλορόβου *β*, *cf. CIL VI* 15295, *Jacoby Add.*, *vol. III B p. 748*: Τιλλορόβου *γ* ¹⁵ Μυσίαν *Palmer*: Μινύαν *codd.* ||
 μόνην *γ*: μόνον *β*

Ασίας μέρη τὰ ἐρημότερα λεηλατῶν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ώς εἰπεῖν τὴν Ἀρμαίων
ἀρχὴν ἐμπλήσας τῆς ληστείας τῆς αὐτοῦ.

ΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΣ?

- 53** SIMPL. *Comm. in Epict. Ench. praeft.* (test. 3 SCHENKL): περὶ μὲν τοῦ βίου τοῦ
Ἐπικτήτου καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς Ἀρριανὸς ἔγραψεν, οὐ τὰς Ἐπικτήτου
διατριβάς ἐν πολυστίχοις συντάξας βιβλίοις· καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου μαθεῖν ἔστιν,
όπους γέγονε τὸν βίον ὁ ἀνήρ.

¹⁶ ἐρημότερα γ : ἐρημότατα β

Mysia and Ida and plundering a few of the more desolate regions of Asia,
but covering, as it were, the entire Roman empire with his robbery.

LIFE OF EPICTETUS?

- 53** Arrian, who composed the *Diatribes of Epictetus* in voluminous books,
wrote about Epictetus' life and death. And from him you can learn what
kind of life the man led.

1069 (= 156). Arrian
(c. A.D. 95–175)

Introduction

In contrast to Arrian's major historical works, his biographies (or monographs) were no longer extant in Byzantine times. We therefore have little knowledge of them. According to Photius, A. composed books on Dion and Timoleon (T 4). Some remarks in Lucian seem to imply that A. also wrote a biography of the brigand Tillorobus (F 52). Furthermore, Simplicius in his commentary on Epictetus (F 53) might be thought to refer to a *Life of Epictetus*, although this remains quite doubtful.

Commentary on the Testimony and the Fragments

T

(4) Photius' remarks show that he himself did not read A.'s books on Timoleon and Dion, but found them mentioned in his copy of the *Bithyniaka*. The short survey he gives of their content—perhaps based on Arrian's own words—suggests that they were historical monographs rather than biographies¹. The book on the Corinthian general Timoleon probably described his campaign against Dionysius II and his victory over the Carthaginians. The work on Dion, as Photius says, dealt with Dion's involvement in Syracusan politics. Both monographs, which were probably quite short, stood at the beginning of A.'s career as a writer. Perhaps A. held an office in Sicily, possibly the quaestorship, which would have aroused his interest in Sicilian history².

F

(52) The passage³ may be modelled on Arrian⁴. The correct spelling of the brigand's name seems to be *Tillorobus* and not *Tillloborus*, since the former is also attested by epigraphical evidence⁵. He is known to

¹ STADTER (1980: 162); cf., however, SCHMID II 2 (1924: 748).

² STADTER (1980: 16; 162).

³ JACOBY's F 52 is too short. Lucian's remarks on Tillorobus are probably all taken from Arrian.

⁴ Cf. ARR. *Anab.* 1,12,4-5; and MACLEOD (1987: 258); TONNET I (1988: 73).

⁵ CIL VI 3, 15295; STADTER (1980: 162 n. 81).

us only from Lucian. He lived in the mountains of Mysia and seems to have plundered the area as far as Mount Ida. “As such his life could have been interesting to Arrian for two reasons: militarily, as a contemporary example of the tactics employed by mountain-based guerillas (...); and also for the local interest of an episode in the contemporary history of Mysia, an area not far from Nicomedia and which he treated in his *Bithyniaca*⁶. A.'s work may have presented Tillorobus as a noble brigand, a type of character common in Hellenistic popular philosophy and in novels⁷. The exact nature of the work remains unclear. Lucian's remarks might suggest that it was a biography or a monograph⁸, but perhaps they are only a distorted reference to A.'s *Bithyniaka*. In this work A. also dealt with the neighbouring Mysia, which in turn might have prompted some remarks on the famous Mysian bandit⁹. Furthermore, a papyrus has been thought to contain part of the life of Tillorobus¹⁰. This, however, is very unlikely¹¹, because the restoration of the name Tillorobus is uncertain¹², and the text contains a vision, which suggests some kind of religious writing instead.

(53) Simplicius' remarks are commonly thought to refer not to a separate *Life of Epictetus*, but to the *Diatribes*¹³, as is indeed suggested by the wording. There is, moreover, no other evidence for a biography.

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⁶ STADTER (1980: 162).

⁷ Cf. SCHMID II 2 (1924: 748 n. 8).

⁸ STADTER (1980: 162).

⁹ BOSWORTH (1980: 36).

¹⁰ POXY. 416; cf. ZIMMERMANN (1935: 165–175).

¹¹ Cf. STADTER (1980: 239).

¹² The papyrus has only Τιλ...

¹³ Cf. SCHENKL (1916: XV–XVI); JACOBY's commentary on *FGrHist* 156 F 53, p. 580.

1070. Oenomaus of Gadara

(2nd cent. A.D.)

1070. Oenomaus of Gadara

(2nd cent. A.D.)

T

- 1 (a)** SUDA οἱ 123 s.v. Οἰνόμαος, Γαδαρεύς, φιλόσοφος Κυνικός, γεγονὼς οὐ πολλῷ πρεσβύτερος Πορφυρίου. Περὶ Κυνισμοῦ, Πολιτείαν, Περὶ τῆς καθ' Ὁμηρον φιλοσοφίας, περὶ Κράτητος καὶ Διογένους καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.
(b) (*TrGF* 45 T 1; V B 130 GIANNANTONI) SUDA δ 1142 s.v. Διογένης ἡ
 5 Οἰνόμαος, Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικός (...).

- 2 (a)** HIER. *Chron.* ad a. p. Chr. 119 p. 198,1-3 HELM: Plutarchus Chaeronaeus et Sextus et Agathobulus et Oenomaus philosophi insignes habentur.
(b) SYNCCELL. *Eclög. Chron.* p. 426,22-24 MOSSHAMMER: Πλούταρχος Χαιρωνεὺς φιλόσοφος ἐπιτροπεύειν Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος
 10 κατεστάθη γηραιός. Σέξτος φιλόσοφος καὶ Ἀγαθόβουλος καὶ Οἰνόμαος ἐγνωρίζετο.

- 3** IULIAN. *Or.* 7,210d-211a: ταῖς (sc. τραγῳδίαις) Οἰνομάου δὲ ἐντυχών - ἔγραψε γάρ καὶ τραγῳδίας τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παραπλησίας, ἀρρήτων ἀρρητότερα καὶ κακῶν πέρα – καὶ οὕτε ὅτι φῶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀξίως ἔχω (...) οὕτω πᾶσα μὲν αἰσχρότης, πᾶσα δὲ ἀπόνοια πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν ἐν ἐκείναις τῷ ἀνδρὶ πεφιλοτέχνηται· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ τούτων τις ἀξίοι τὸν κυνισμὸν ὄποιός τις ἐστιν ἥμιν ἐπιδεῖξαι, βλασφημῶν τοὺς θεούς, ὑλακτῶν πρὸς ἄπαντας, ὅπερ ἔφην ἀρχόμενος, ἵτω, χαιρέτω, γῆν πρὸ γῆς, ὅποι βούλοιτο.

- 4** IULIAN. *Or.* 7,209a-b: νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνό μοι πρὸς τῶν Μουσῶν φράσον ὑπὲρ τοῦ κυνισμοῦ, πότερον ἀπόνοιά τις ἐστιν καὶ βίος οὐκ ἀνθρώπινος, ἀλλὰ θηριώδης ψυχῆς διάθεσις οὐθὲν καλόν, οὐθὲν σπουδαῖον οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν νομιζούσης; δοίη γάρ ἂν ὑπολαβεῖν πολλοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα Οἰνόμαος: εἴ τι σοι τοῦ ταῦτα γοῦν ἐπελθεῖν ἐμέλησεν, ἐπέγνως ἂν σαφῶς ἐν τῇ Τοῦ κυνὸς αὐτοφωνίᾳ καὶ τῷ Κατὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς οἵς ἔγραψεν ὁ ἀνὴρ.

T

- 1 (a)** Oenomaus of Gadara, a cynic philosopher, not much older than Porphyry. He wrote *On Cynicism*, *Republic*, *On Philosophy According to Homer*, on Crates, Diogenes and the others. **(b)** Diogenes or Oenomaus, an Athenian tragedian (...).

- 2 (a)** In this year flourished the philosophers Plutarch of Chaeroneia, Sextus, Agathobulus and Oenomaus. **(b)** In his old age, the philosopher Plutarch of Chaeroneia was made governor of Hellas by the Emperor. There flourished the philosopher Sextus, Agathobulus and Oenomaus.

- 3** Reading Oenomaus' tragedies—he also wrote tragedies similar to his prose works, real monstrosities and extremely perverse—and I cannot find the right words for them (...), so excessively has he represented in them every obscenity and madness. And if anyone thinks he could show us through them that it is the nature of Cynicism to blaspheme the gods and to bark at everyone, then—as I said at the beginning—he may go, goodbye, to the other end of the world.

- 4** Now, by the Muses, tell me: Cynicism, is it a madness and a life not human, but rather a brutish state of the soul that regards nothing as honourable, valuable, and good? For this is what Oenomaus would make many believe about it. At least, if you should be interested in this subject, you would clearly perceive it in his treatise *The Kyon's Own Voice*, in his book against the oracles and in virtually everything the man has written.

¹¹ ἐγνωρίζετο *ACTz* : ἐγνωρίζοντο *CV* ²³ ἐπέγνως ἂν *Reiske* : ἐπιγνώσῃ *V*

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΚΡΑΤΗΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ?

- 25 **1** IULIAN. *Or.* 7,211d-212a : οὗτος οὖν ὁ Διογένης (V B 128 GIANNANTONI) ὥποιός τις ἦν τά τε πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, μὴ διὰ τῶν Οἰνομάου λόγων μηδὲ τῶν Φιλίσκου τραγῳδιῶν, αἷς ἐπιγράφας τὸ Διογένους (*TrGF* 88 T 3) ὄνομα τῆς θείας πολλά ποτε κατεψεύσατο κεφαλῆς, ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν ἔδρασεν ἔργων ὥποιός τις ἦν γνωριζέσθω.

ΑΥΤΟΦΩΝΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΝΟΣ
(T 1; 4)

- 30 **2 (a)** IULIAN. *Or.* 9 [6],187b-c: ἡγεμόνα μὲν οὐ ῥάδιον εύρειν, ἐφ' ὃν ἀνενέγκαι χρὴ πρῶτον αὐτό, εἰ καὶ τινες ὑπολαμβάνουσιν Ἀντισθένει τοῦτο καὶ Διογένει προσήκειν. τοῦτο γοῦν ἔσικεν Οἰνόμαος οὐκ ἀτόπως λεγειν· ὁ κυνισμὸς οὕτε Ἀντισθενισμός ἐστιν οὕτε Διογενισμός. **(b)** IULIAN. *Or.* 9 [6],199a: ἔστω δὴ μὴ κατὰ τὸν Οἰνόμαον ὁ κύων ἀναιδῆς μηδὲ ἀναίσχυντος 35 μηδὲ ὑπερόπτης πάντων ὅμοι θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων, ἀλλὰ εὐλαβῆς μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ὕσπερ Διογένης.

ΓΟΗΤΩΝ ΦΩΡΑ

- 3** Eus. *Praep. ev.* 5,19-36; 6,7: cf. HAMMERSTAEDT (1988: 71-108)

ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΘ' ΟΜΗΡΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ
(T 1)

²⁷ Φιλίσκου *Pētau* : Φιλίστου V

F

ON CRATES AND DIOGENES?

- 1** As to Diogenes, do not try to find out how he behaved towards gods and men from Oenomaus' treatises or Philiscus' tragedies, who in ascribing them to Diogenes' name told many lies about the divine man, but learn about his nature from the deeds he performed.

THE KYON'S OWN VOICE
(T 1; 4)

- 2 (a)** It is difficult to detect some founder to whom its beginnings (*sc.* of cynicism) should be attributed, even though some believe that it is due to Antisthenes and Diogenes. In this respect, at least, Oenomaus seems to be right, who says that cynicism is neither Antisthenism nor Diogenism. **(b)** The cynic shall neither be, as Oenomaus wants, shameless nor impudent, nor shall he equally despise all divine and human things, but he shall pay due reverence to the divine, as did Diogenes.

EXPOSURE OF THE CHEATS

- 3** Cf. HAMMERSTAEDT (1988: 71-108)

REPUBLIC. ON PHILOSOPHY ACCORDING TO HOMER
(T 1)

1070. Oenomaus of Gadara

(2nd cent. A.D.)

Introduction

Oenomaus of Gadara is one of the main exponents of Cynicism in Imperial times¹. The dating of his life causes some difficulties, since he is variously said to have lived either in the 2nd (T 1) or the 3rd cent. A.D. However, it seems quite likely that the first date is correct and that he belongs to the 2nd cent. A.D.², because (1) O.s criticism of the oracles fits better in this century³, (2) O. seems to be none other than Abnimus, friend of the Rabbi Meir, who lived in the 2nd century⁴, and (3) O.s treatise against the oracles was used by Origenes and Clement⁵. In several works O. seems to have expounded his Cynic philosophy, criticizing other opinions. Thus, he wrote a book on Crates, Diogenes and the other Cynics (T 1). It is hard to tell exactly what form this work would have taken. It appears to have been a history of the Cynic school, consisting of the biographies of several Cynic philosophers. Whereas the rest of O.s oeuvre is completely lost, substantial parts of his treatise against oracles γούτων φώρα have been preserved by Eusebius⁶.

Commentary on the Testimonies and the Fragments

T

1 (a) The Suda's statement that O. lived slightly earlier than Porphyry seems to be wrong. It may simply rest on a mistaken conjecture. Perhaps O. was referred to by Eusebius or Porphyry as one of the younger philosophers, which was misunderstood by Hesychius⁷.

¹ See on him especially HAMMERSTAEDT's monograph (1988); cf. also Id. (1990: 2834-2865); GOULET-CAZÉ (1990: 2802-2803). The substantial fragments of O.s treatise against the oracles have been edited by HAMMERSTAEDT. I have confined myself to giving the testimonies and fragments of the other works.

² Cf. HAMMERSTAEDT (1988: 11-18); Id. (1990: 2835-2836).

³ BURESH (1889: 66-67).

⁴ HAMMERSTAEDT (1990: 2836-2839).

⁵ HAMMERSTAEDT (1988: 19-28); Id. (1990: 2839-2842).

⁶ For the fragments cf. HAMMERSTAEDT's edition (1988: 70-108).

⁷ Cf. ZELLER III 1 (1909: 797 n. 2); HAMMERSTAEDT (1988: 11).

Furthermore, the list of titles is incomplete. Paradoxically, the work best known to us, the Γούτων φώρα, is missing. The treatise on Cynicism seems to be identical with the work called *The Kyon's Own Voice* referred to by Julian (T 4). Of the *Republic* which was perhaps written in the vein of the Πολιτεῖαι of the older Cynics, nothing else is known⁸. The same applies to the work *About Philosophy According to Homer*⁹, in which O. may have criticized either Homer himself or rather the philosophical interpretation of the poet's words¹⁰. Finally, the Suda refers to a treatise on Diogenes and Crates and others. As the wording shows, this is a paraphrase of its contents rather than the exact title. Perhaps Antisthenes is omitted, because O. did not regard him as a Cynic¹¹. **(b)** The Suda's entry on Diogenes is completely confused. The Cynic Diogenes of Sinope, to whom tragedies were attributed as well, is confused with the tragedian Diogenes of Athens, whose works the Suda goes on to list. O.s name seems to have been interpolated as a variant to the Cynic Diogenes¹².

(2) Both testimonies go back to the chronicle of Eusebius. As it appears from the more ample version of Syncellus, Eusebius synchronized Plutarch's old age and his appointment to the office of a procurator of Achaea¹³ by Hadrian with the *floruit* of the other philosophers. Agathobulus can be dated roughly to the 1st half of the 2nd century A.D.¹⁴ In the case of Sextus, however, there is some difficulty. If the Sceptic philosopher Sextus, dating rather to the end of the 2nd century, is meant, the synchronism would appear odd. Thus, it seems better to take it as a reference to Plutarch's nephew, who can be easily dated to the first half of the century¹⁵.

(3) Comparing O.s tragedies with those written by Diogenes or his pupil Philiscus, Julian passes a severe judgement on the latter, since, according to him, they conveyed the wrong image of Cynicism. The exact nature of these tragedies, which were written in verse, remains uncertain. Perhaps O. transformed and parodied subjects of classical tragedy in them, and it is this which caused Julian's criticism¹⁶.

⁸ Cf. VALLETTE (1908: 15-18); HAMMERSTAEDT (1988: 49-50); Id. (1990: 2852).

⁹ For a similar title cf. Philodemus' Περὶ τοῦ καθ' Ὀμηρὸν ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως.

¹⁰ HAMMERSTAEDT (1988: 48-49); Id. (1990: 2851-2852).

¹¹ HAMMERSTAEDT (1988: 48); Id. (1990: 2851).

¹² Cf. VALLETTE (1908: 19).

¹³ On Plutarch's offices cf. SUDA π 1794 s.v. Πλούταρχος; GROAG (1939: 145-147); CORSTEN (1997: 120).

¹⁴ BURESH (1889: 65).

¹⁵ Cf. HAMMERSTAEDT (1990: 2836 n. 11).

¹⁶ Cf. HAMMERSTAEDT (1988: 50-53); Id. (1990: 2852-2853).

(4) *The Kyon's Own Voice* seems to be identical with the treatise *On Cynicism* (T 1)¹⁷. The work may have had a double title, though maybe the Suda's words are rather a paraphrase of its contents. In it O. expressed his views about Cynicism. The title αὐτοφωνία τοῦ κυνός¹⁸ seems to stress that what is put forward is O.s own opinion¹⁹. As F 2 shows, it probably stood in marked contrast to that of other Cynics. The work *Against the Oracles* is quoted several times with the title *Exposure of the Cheats* (γοητῶν φώρα) by Eusebius²⁰. Again, there is the question of a double title, but *Against the Oracles* should probably be understood as a paraphrase²¹.

F

(1) Although Julian gives no title, he seems to be thinking of O.s history of the Cynic philosophers²². However, since Julian's remarks are quite general, a reference to O.s other work about Cynicism can not be excluded.

(2) This fragment offers the only instance of direct quotation of O. outside Eusebius. As the content and especially the mention of the κύων show, Julian refers to O.s work *The Kyon's Own Voice*²³. O.s remarks imply that he did not regard Cynicism as Antisthenes' or Diogenes' invention, but rather as a phenomenon not tied to any particular authority. Nevertheless, he seems to have paid due respect to his Cynic predecessors (F 1).

(3) A detailed commentary on O.s treatise against the oracles is provided by HAMMERSTAEDT (1988: 109-307) and (1990: 2844-2850).

¹⁷ Cf. SAARMANN (1887: 8); VALLETTE (1908: 12); HAMMERSTAEDT (1988: 42-47).

¹⁸ It also contains some allusion to the κυνικὰ φωναῖ.

¹⁹ SAARMANN (1887: 8): "nam quid mirum, si idem, qui de ceteris cynicis scripsерat, qui ad principum cynicorum neutrum se applicabat, proprio libro, quid ipse de cynismo sentiret, explanavit eumque vocavit 'κυνός αὐτοφωνία κτλ.'?"

²⁰ EUS. *Praep. ev.* 5,18,6; 5,21,6; 6,6,74; on meaning and accentuation of φώρα see HAMMERSTAEDT (1988: 33-38).

²¹ Cf. HAMMERSTAEDT (1988: 46-47).

²² SAARMANN (1887: 9); HAMMERSTAEDT (1988: 30; 48).

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1071 (= 505). Telephus of Pergamum
(c. A.D. 80–170)

T

1 SUDA τ 495 s.v. Τήλεφος, Περγαμηνός, γραμματικός. ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτὸς <...> ἐν οἷς παρατίθεται πόσα χρὴ εἰδέναι τὸν γραμματικόν, Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὁμήρῳ σχημάτων ῥήτορικῶν βιβλία β', Περὶ συντάξεως λόγου Ἀττικοῦ βιβλία ε', Περὶ τῆς καθ' Ὅμηρον ῥήτορικῆς, Περὶ τῆς Ὅμηρου καὶ Πλάτωνος συμφωνίας, Ποικίλης φιλομαθείας βιβλία β', Βίους τραγικῶν καὶ κωμικῶν, Βιβλιακῆς ἐμπειρίας βιβλία γ', ἐν οἷς διδάσκει τὰ κτήσεως ἄξια βιβλία, "Οτι μόνος Ὅμηρος τῶν ἀρχαίων ἑλληνίζει, Περιήγησιν Περγάμου, Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Περγάμῳ Σεβαστίου βιβλία β', Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι δικαστηρίων, Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν, Περὶ τῶν Περγάμου βασιλέων βιβλία ε', Περὶ 10 χρήσεως ἡτοι ὄνομάτων ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἵς χρώμεθα ἔστι δὲ κατὰ στοιχείον· Περὶ τῆς Ὀδύσσεως πλάνης, Ὡκυτόκιον, ἔστι δὲ συναγωγὴ ἐπιθέτων εἰς τὸ αὐτὸν πρᾶγμα ἀρμοζόντων πρὸς ἔτοιμον εὐπορίαν φράσεως, βιβλία ι'.

2 HIST. AUG. Ver. 2,5: audivit (sc. L. Verus) Scaurinum grammaticum Latinum, Scauri filium, qui grammaticus Hadriani fuit, Graecos Telephum atque Hefaestionem (...).

3 (a) GAL. San. tuend. 5,4,15-17: Τήλεφος δὲ ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐπὶ πλείονας μὲν ἔξικετο χρόνους Ἀντιόχου σχεδὸν ἑκατὸν ἔτη βιοὺς. ἐλούνετο μὲν τοῦ μηνὸς δις ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, τετράκις δὲ ἐν τῷ θέρει, τρὶς δὲ ἐν ταῖς μεταξὺ τούτων ὥραις. ἐν αἷς δ' ἡμέραις οὐκ ἐλούνετο, περὶ τρίτην ὥραν ἡλείφετο μετὰ βραχείας ἀνατρίψεως. εἴτα χόνδρον ἡψημένον ἐν ὕδατι, μέλι μιγνὺς ὥμδον ὅτι κάλλιστον ἥσθιε, καὶ τοῦτ' ἥρκει μόνον αὐτῷ τὴν γε πρώτην. ἥρίστα δὲ οὗτος

1 ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτὸς post 2 γραμματικῶν transpos. V : post αὐτὸς lacunam statuit Küster : Γραμματικόν, βιβλία suppl. Müller, FHG III, p. 635 : Γραμματικά Daub (1882: 121).⁶ τὰ codd. : tίνα Daub (1882: 121)⁹ Ἀθήνησι AM : ἐν Ἀθήνησι V : ἐν αὐταῖς G¹⁰⁻¹¹ κατὰ στοιχείον post πλάνης transpos. V¹¹ Περὶ ... πλάνης secl. Bernhardy¹¹⁻¹³ Ὡκυτόκιον ... βιβλία ι' in marg. V, in textu habet Ὡκυτόκιον Τηλέφου τούτῳ δέ ἐστιν ἄξιον καὶ κτήσεως πρὸς εὐπορίαν φράσεως καὶ ἔρασμιον (= ω 61).¹⁵ telephum excerpt. Pal., A : Talephum P¹⁶ atque Hefaestionem Peter : atq; fertionem PA¹⁸ ἔξικετο M : ἔξηκετο VR || μὲν M : δὲ VR¹⁹ post δις add. μὲν VR²² γε MV : τε R || οὗτος M : καὶ οὗτος VR

1071 (= 505). Telephus of Pergamum
(c. A.D. 80–170)

T

1 Telephus of Pergamum, grammarian. He also wrote <...> in which are provided all the things grammarian should know, *On Figures of Speech in Homer* in two volumes, *On Attic Prose Composition* in five volumes, *On Rhetoric According to Homer*, *On the Concordance between Homer and Plato*, *Diverse Curiosities* in two volumes, *Lives of Tragic and of Comic Poets*, *a Guide to Books* in two volumes, wherein he teaches which books one should possess, *Homer, the Only Atticist Among the Ancient Poets*, *A Guide to Pergamum*, *On the Sebasteion in Pergamum* in two volumes, *On Athenian Law-courts*, *On Athenian Laws and Customs*, *On the Kings of Pergamum* in five volumes, *On the Correct Usage or Names of Dresses and Things of Daily Use* in alphabetical order, *On Ulysses' Voyages*, *An Okytokion*, which is a dictionary of synonyms to provide one with a rich vocabulary in ten volumes.

2 His (sc. Verus) Latin teacher was Scaurus, the son of Scaurus, who was Hadrian's teacher. His Greek teachers were Telephus and Hephaestion.

3 (a) Telephus, the grammarian, lived for an even longer time than Antiochus, living nearly a hundred years. He took a bath twice a month in winter, four times in summer, and three times in the seasons between. On the days on which he did not take a bath, he applied some ointment to his skin together with a short massage at the third hour. Furthermore, he ate spelt boiled in water and mixed with as good wild honey as possible, and this little meal was enough for him at the first hour. He had lunch at the seventh hour

ώρας ἐβδόμης ή βραχεῖ τινι θάττον, λάχανα μὲν πρῶτον προσφερόμενος, εἰθ' ἔξῆς ὄρνιθων η ἰχθύων γευόμενος. ἐσπέραν δὲ μόνον ἄρτον ἦσθιε διαβρέχων
25 ἐν οἴνῳ κεκραμένῳ.

(b) *San. tuend.* 5,12,28: οὐ μὴν ἐπί γε τῆς τρίτης (*sc.* ἡλικίας τοῦ γήρως εἴρηται),
ἐν η τὸν γραμματικὸν ἔφην Τήλεφον ὅντα ἐν τῷ μηνὶ δις η τρὶς λούεσθαι.

4 PROL. HERMOG. SYLLOG. p. 189,3-7 RABE: καὶ ὅτι "Ομηρος τὰ σπέρματα τῆς
τέχνης (*sc.* ρήτορικῆς) κατέβαλεν, ἐδήλωσε Τήλεφος ὁ Περγαμηνός, ὅστις
30 τέχνην συγγραψάμενος ἐπέγραψε Περὶ τῆς καθ' "Ομηρον ρήτορικῆς κάκει
περὶ τῶν ιγ' συνεγράψατο στάσεων.

F

BIOI TRAGIKΩΝ KAI KΩΜΙΚΩΝ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ

ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΟΥ.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΩΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΕΙΟΝΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ.
ΠΕΡΙ ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙ ΝΟΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΘΩΝ

1-3 cf. *FGrHist* 505 F 1-3

²³ ὥρας ζ' *M* : ζ' ὥραν(-ας) *VR* : ὥρα ζ' *Scaliger* ²⁴ ὄρνιθων η ἰχθύων *M* : ιχθ- η ὄρνιθ- *VR*

²⁷ Τήλεφον ὅντα *VR* : ὅντα Τήλ- *M*

or slightly earlier, taking some vegetables as a starter and having some poultry or fish afterwards. In the evening he only ate bread moistening it with mixed wine.

(b) This, however, does not apply to the third (*sc.* stage of old age), in which the grammarian Telephus—as I said—took a bath twice or three times a month.

4 That Homer sowed the seed of the art (*sc.* of rhetoric), is shown by Telephus of Pergamum, who entitled the rhetorical manual he had composed *On Rhetoric According to Homer* and in it wrote about the thirteen *staseis*.

F

LIVES OF TRAGIC AND OF COMIC POETS

ON THE KINGS OF PERGAMUM

GUIDEBOOK TO PERGAMUM.
ON THE SEBASTEION AT PERGAMUMON ATHENIAN LAW COURTS.
ON ATHENIAN LAWS AND CUSTOMS

1-3 cf. *FGrHist* 505 F 1-3

1071 (= 505). Telephus of Pergamum

(c. A.D. 80–170)

Introduction

Telephus of Pergamum¹, whose name recalls the local hero Telephus², was born in the eighties or nineties of the 1st century A.D. and, according to Galenus (T 3), lived to be nearly one hundred years old. His native city saw a rise in cultural activity at that time, bringing forth a group of intellectuals connected with the Imperial court, which included the historian Charax³, the sophist Marcellus, and above all the famous physician Galenus. If the Historia Augusta (T 2) is correct, T. also lived at the court at some stage of his career, being the teacher of the Emperor Lucius Verus, although none of his works suggest that T. was a courtier⁴. T. is called γραμματικός by our sources (T 1; 3), and indeed his interests seem to have covered the whole field of antiquarian scholarship ranging from grammar and rhetoric to history. His extensive oeuvre (T 1) also includes two biographical titles: the *History of the Kings of Pergamum* and the *Lives of Tragic and of Comic Poets*. The two works, now lost, represent two completely different strands of biography. The *Lives of Tragic and of Comic Poets* clearly belong to the tradition of literary history beginning with Callimachus and Eratosthenes⁵. For this book, as for his others, T. could use the rich collection of the Pergamene library, where scholarly works on comic poets were still available⁶. The *History of the Kings of Pergamum* may have been—like Athenaeus’ work *On the Kings of Syria* (1074)—a collection of royal biographies adding up to a history of the Attalids. Thus T. marks the end of a long line of authors on the Pergamene kings reaching back to Hellenistic times, including Lysimachus, Neanthes of Cyzicus and Phylarchus. He may even have

¹ On T. in general see WENDEL (1934: 369–371); PERNOT II (1993: 650); and JACOBY’s commentary on the local historians of Pergamum (LIX), vol. III B, p. 422–433. Since JACOBY omits some important evidence on the author, I have provided a complete collection of the testimonies.

² Cf. PAUS. 3,26,10; 5,13,3 on the worship of Telephus in Pergamum.

³ Cf. on him CHANIOTIS (1988: 318–320).

⁴ Cf. PETER I (1897: 425–426).

⁵ Cf. also the δραματικὴ ιστορία of Rufus, referred to in PHOT. *Bibl.* 161 p. 103 b 7–15.

⁶ Cf. ATHEN. 7,15 p. 336 D–F (= ALEXIS F 25 K.–A.), who, however, complains about some deficiency saying that οἱ τὰς ἐν Περγάμῳ ἀναγραφάς ποιησάμενοι offered no information on Alexis’ comedy *Asotodidaskalos*. Cf. also NESSLRATH (1990: 187 n. 108); PFEIFFER (1968: 236–237).

drawn his material from them⁷. It is likely that the stimulus to write such a work was a lively interest in the history of his native city, which is also shown by other related titles.

Commentary on the Testimonies

(1) Apart from the biographies mentioned in the introduction above, the Suda lists fifteen more works, which are all lost. Most remarkable is T.s fondness for manuals for rhetorical and antiquarian use. He wrote 1) a Γραμματικός in at least eight books—the title is missing in the corrupt text of the Suda, but is preserved in a scholion to the Iliad⁸, 2) a Ποικίλη φιλομάθεια, 3) a dictionary of synonyms named like a medicine promoting quick birth Ωκυτόκιον, out of which F 3 might be taken, 4) an onomastic dictionary of dresses and various articles of daily use in alphabetical order⁹, 5) a guide on good books, like Philo of Byblus (1060). Moreover, we find several works on Homer¹⁰, which show T.s philological and rhetorical interests: 6) *On Ulysses’ Voyages*, 7) *On the Agreement between Homer and Plato*, in which T. probably tried to refute Plato’s charges against Homer by allegorical interpretation (see also 1087. Sarapion), 8) two books *On Figures of Speech in Homer*, 9) a *Rhetoric According to Homer*¹¹, 10) *Homer, the Only Atticist Among the Ancient Authors*. This work also shows T.s preoccupation with the classic Attic language and culture, prevalent in the following works: 11) *On Attic Prose Composition*, 12) *On Athenian Law-Courts*, 13) *On Athenian Laws and Customs*, to which F 1–2 might belong. In these works T. might have drawn upon the Atticographers and perhaps Didymus Chalcenterus. Finally, there are some works on his native city Pergamum. 14) Apart from the history of the local dynasty, which will have been concerned mainly with the Attalids, but perhaps also included other rulers¹², there are mentioned 15) a periegesis of the city of Pergamum, and 16) a treatise on the Sebasteion, the famous temple of Roma and Augustus, probably including some re-

⁷ HANSEN (1947: XV).

⁸ SCHOL. HOM. K 545–546a¹, III p. 112,12–17 ERBSE.

⁹ SCHOL. HOM. Δ 133b, I p. 472,91–95 ERBSE might be taken from it; cf. WENDEL (1934: 371).

¹⁰ SCHOL. HOM. A 420d, I p. 119,75; K 53a¹, III p. 13,86–88; O 668b, IV p. 139,5–6. ERBSE could belong to one of these works.

¹¹ DAUB (1882: 121) wants to identify no. 8 and 9; for the content cf. on T 4.

¹² Cf. JACOBY, vol. III B, p. 422–423, who suggests that the Pergamene marble chronicle (*FGHist* 506) might be an excerpt from it.

marks on the Rhomaea Sebasta, the games that took place every four years in honour of the goddess and the emperor¹³.

(2) The statement of the *Historia Augusta* that T. was the teacher of Lucius Verus, seems to have gone unchallenged so far¹⁴. Although the chronology is correct, caution seems to be in order regarding the entire list of teachers. The claim that Scaurus was a teacher of Hadrian may well be an invention by the HA¹⁵, and his son Scaurinus could be entirely fictitious¹⁶. Thus, T.s relation with Verus might also be based on some fictitious combination.

(3) Galenus speaks about T.s diet and hygiene. Being from Pergamum, the physician probably knew his elder contemporary personally. The testimony is most important for T.s chronology. Since Galenus' treatise was written after the death of Marcus Aurelius in A.D. 180¹⁷ and he states that T. lived to be nearly a hundred years old, T.s birth must fall roughly within the reign of Domitian.

(4) Obviously T. introduced Homer as the father of rhetoric¹⁸. A good example of what T.s treatise looked like, is provided by the second part (§§ 161-174) of the ps.-Plutarchean treatise *De Homero*¹⁹. The invention of the doctrine of thirteen staseis is usually attributed to Minucianus²⁰, whose *Techne* dates to the middle of the 2nd century. Thus, we have a fixed *terminus post quem* for T.s work²¹.

¹³ Cf. DIO CASS. 51,20,7; TAC. *Ann.* 4,37; there is no archaeological evidence so far. On the temple and the cult in general cf. MELLOR (1975: 79-82; 140-141); BOWERSOCK (1965: 116); KIENAST (1982: 203); PRICE (1984: 133; 252).

¹⁴ Cf. e.g. BIRLEY (1966: 115).

¹⁵ Cf. FEIN (1994: 30).

¹⁶ Pace SYME (1971: 10-11), who thinks that only Scaurinus, son of Scaurus, the teacher of Alexander Severus, *HIST. AUG. Alex. Sev.* 3,3 is fictitious. SCHMIDT's comment on SYME in *HLL* IV (1997: 223) ad Lit. 2 is misleading.

¹⁷ Cf. GAL. *San. tuend.* 6,5,12; and KOCH (1923: VII).

¹⁸ For a collection of texts on this matter cf. RADERMACHER (1951: 9-10).

¹⁹ [PLUT.] *De Homero* is, however, not derived from T., cf. HILLGRUBER (1994: 61-63) against SCHRADER (1902: 530-581).

²⁰ See, however, HEATH (1994: 17-22).

²¹ SCHRADER (1903: 145-146); HILLGRUBER (1994: 62; 142).

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1072 (= 150). Amyntianus
(2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 PHOT. *Bibl.* 131 p. 97 a 9: ἀνεγνώσθη Ἀμυντιανοῦ Εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον· προσφωνεῖ δὲ τὸν λόγον τῷ αὐτοκράτορι Ῥωμαίων Μάρκῳ καὶ ἐπαγγέλλεται μὲν ἀξίως εἰπεῖν τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεων, ἐδείχθη δὲ προϊὼν ὡς ἐπαγγεῖλαι μέν ἔστιν ἔνθερμος καὶ τολμητής, πληρῶσαι δὲ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ψυχρὸς καὶ 5 δειλός· πολὺ γάρ καταδεέστερον καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰρηκότων λέγει περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἀτόνῳ δὲ καὶ ἐκλύτῳ χαρακτῆρι χρῆται, τοῦ μέντοι σαφοῦς οὐ διαπίπτει, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἀναγκαίων παραλιμπάνει. ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ἐτέρους λόγους ἔγραψε διαφόρους καὶ παραλλήλους συνέθηκε βίους, ὥσπερ 10 Διονυσίου καὶ Δομιτιανοῦ ἐν δυσὶ λόγοις, Φιλίππου τε Μακεδόνων καὶ Αὐγούστου ἐν ἑτέροις δυσίν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου μητρὸς λόγον ἔγραψεν.

F

ΕΙΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ

1 SCHOL. BERN. VERG. *Georg.* 2,137: Hermus, fluvius Asiae, eumque dicit (*sc.* Vergilius) auriferum, quia Pactolus aurifer in eum defluit. Pactolum autem esse auriferum Amyntianus, qui Alexandri Macedonis res gestas scripsit, 15 testis est.

ΠΕΡΙ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΔΟΣ

ΒΙΟΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΛΗΛΟΙ

ΠΕΡΙ ΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΩΝ

¹⁴ Amyntianus Schneidewin (1852: 739) : Aurimantus *codd.* : Erymanthus *Hagen* ^m
apparatu

1072 (= 150). Amyntianus
(2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 I have read Amyntianus' *On Alexander*. He dedicates his work to the Roman Emperor Marcus (A.D. 161-180), and announces that he will speak in a manner appropriate to Alexander's deeds. Later on in his work, however, it turns out that he is only passionate and bold in drawing up plans, but dispassionate and timid in their execution, because he speaks about him in a far inferior way than his predecessors. The language he uses is without vigour and force, though it is always clear, and he omits many necessary details. The same author also wrote various other works, and composed parallel-lives, as for example that of Dionysius and Domitian in two books, and that of Philip of Macedon and Augustus in two others. Furthermore, he wrote a work about Olympias, Alexander's mother.

F

ON ALEXANDER

1 Hermus, a river in Asia, and he (*sc.* Vergil) calls it gold-carrying, because the gold-carrying Pactolus flows into it. For the fact that the Pactolus is gold-carrying Amyntianus bears witness, who wrote about the deeds of Alexander of Macedon.

ON OLYMPIAS

PARALLEL LIVES

ON ELEPHANTS

2 (a) SCHOL. PIND. *Ol.* 3,52 a: χρυσοκέρων ἔλαφον] (...) ὅτι δὲ συνέβαινε καὶ εἰκός ἐστιν ἐνίας ἔχειν (*sc.* θηλείας ἔλαφους κέρατα), ἐκεῖθεν δῆλον, ὅτι τῶν ἔλεφάντων οἱ μὲν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας καὶ Λιβύης πάντες σὺν ταῖς θηλείαις ὁδόντας ἔχουσιν, ἡ κέρατα, ὡς τινες· καθὰ καὶ Ἀμυντιανὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἔλεφάντων φησί· τῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν αἱ θήλειαι χωρὶς ὁδόντων εἰσίν. **(b)** SCHOL. TZETZ. *Chil.* 4,97, p. 567-568 LEONE: ἡ τοῖς διπλοῖς ὁδοῦσιν] (...) οὐν τὸν ἔλεφάντων οὐκ ὁδόντας ἀλλὰ κέρατα καλοῦσιν· οὕτως οὐδ' ἔλέφας Θῆλυς Ἰνδὸς ὁδοντοκέρατα ἔχει, ὡς φησιν Ἀμυντιανὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἔλεφάντων· “Αἰθιόπων δὲ καὶ Λιβύων ἔλεφαντες ἄρρενες τε καὶ θήλεις πάντες ὁδοντοκέρατα ἔχουσιν.”

¹⁹ ἡ κέρατα *EQ*: *om. BC*

2 (a) hind with golden horns: (...) That it occurred and that it is likely that some (*sc.* hinds) have horns, is clear from the fact, that of the elephants all those from Ethiopia and Libya, including the females, have tusks or, as some call it, horns, as Amyntianus also tells us in his book *On Elephants*. Of the Indian elephants the females are without tusks. **(b)** or their double *odontes* (*i.e.* teeth): in the case of elephants one does not speak of *odontes*, but of *kerata* (*i.e.* horns). Thus, the female Indian elephant does not have *odontokerata* (*i.e.* tooth-horns), as Amyntianus says in his book *On Elephants*: “All Ethiopean and Libyan elephants, males and females alike, have *odontokerata*.”

1072 (= 150). Amyntianus
(2nd cent. A.D.)

Introduction

Amyntianus can securely be dated to the times of the Antonine Emperors. He wrote a book *On Alexander*, which was either a biography, monograph or an encomium¹, and dedicated it to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. The choice of subject is easily explained, since A. wrote at a time when Lucius Verus, stepbrother and colleague of Marcus Aurelius was campaigning or had already campaigned successfully in the East against the Parthians. It is very likely that the *imitatio Alexandri* of the emperors inspired A.s work on Alexander's conquest, in which flattering comparisons with the present rulers could be drawn². If A.s book was a historical monograph, he may also have tried to challenge and to supersede Arrian's (1069) account of Alexander's deeds³. If this was his aim, he seems to have failed, at least according to Photius' judgement, who still read the work, but found it boring and superficial. Perhaps A. belongs to the authors Lucian makes fun of in his work *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit*. Thanks to Photius we also possess a list of further titles, which was perhaps appended to his copy of *On Alexander*⁴. Accordingly, A. composed several parallel-lives, of which two, that of Philip II and of Augustus, and that of Dionysius (probably Dionysius I) and of Domitian, are mentioned explicitly. It is obvious that Plutarch's parallel-lives were A.s literary model⁵. Perhaps A. wanted to continue the work of his predecessor, adding just those lives which Plutarch omitted. Apart from these titles Photius mentions a work *On Olympias*, the wife of Philip II and mother of Alexander, which appears to have

¹ See e.g. SCHMID II 1 (1924: 762); BOSWORTH (1980: 12); JACOBY in his commentary on *FGrHist* 150, p. 536. The wording of Photius (T 1) makes it difficult to decide whether the title *On Alexander* refers to an encomium, cf. PERNOT I (1993: 472) for similar titles, or a biography or monograph. Even the word λόγος gives no clue, since in Photius it can mean either "book" or "speech".

² Cf. PETER I (1897: 425); PERNOT II (1993: 749-750).

³ See BOSWORTH (1980: 12), though the verbal parallels he adduces are not very convincing.

⁴ TREADGOLD (1980: 61-62) argues that Photius' notes on A.s oeuvre come from a part of the book being reviewed. It looks, however, like a separate piece of information, which may have been added as a kind of index.

⁵ Cf. SCHMID II 2 (1924: 762).

been a biography. Furthermore, A. is known to have written a treatise *On Elephants*.

Commentary on the Fragments

(1) The transmitted name *Aurimantus* has rightly been restored to *Amyntianus*⁶. The Lydian river Pactolus originates in the mountains of Tmolus and flows into the Hermus after crossing the agora of Sardes. That it carried gold is a literary *topos*⁷. A. may have referred to the Pactolus, when talking about Alexander's conquest of Sardes after the battle at the Granicus (334 b.c.). According to the scholion A. wrote Alexander's *res gestae*, which seems to imply that his work was a historical monograph. However, its wording might be imprecise.

(2) The subject suggests that this A. should be identified with the historian⁸. Since elephants are often treated in connection with Alexander's conquest⁹, it might easily have occurred to an author of Alexander's deeds to write about elephants as well. The two fragments, when taken together, show that A. spoke about both kinds of elephants, the Indian and the African, presumably in a comparison. He was obviously no great expert, because his statement that the female Indian elephant has tusks is plainly wrong. (a) There was much debate in antiquity as to whether tusks should be called *odontes* (teeth) or *kerata* (horns). It seems to have started with Juba who, in opposition to his predecessors, called the tusks *kerata*¹⁰. (b) The scholion¹¹ criticizes Tzetzes for using the wrong word ὄδοντες instead of the right term *κέρατα*. To prove his statement, it refers to A. who spoke of ὄδοντοκέρατα—a word A. might have coined himself as a

⁶ Cf. SCHNEIDEWIN (1852: 739): "die Nähe des aurifer hat den Namen des Historikers durch Übergoldung unkenntlich gemacht. Kein Zweifel, dass der unter Marcus Antoninus lebende Ἀμυντιανός gemeint ist, dessen Bücher εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον noch Photios Bibl. cod. 131 p. 37 Bekk. lesen konnte."

⁷ See KEIL (1942: 2439) for further references.

⁸ See, however, MÜLLER, *Script. Alex. M.* p. 162: "is num idem sit historico, qui sub Marco Antonino vixit, nescimus."

⁹ Cf. also LUCIAN. *Hist. conscr.* 12 (= *FGrHist* 139 T 4) with KASSEL (1991: 387-388).

¹⁰ Cf. PLIN. *Nat. hist.* 8,7: *praedam ipsi in se expetandam sciunt solam esse in armis suis, quae Juba cornua appellant (...); PHILOSTR. Vita Ap.* 2,13; PAUS. 5,12,1-3; AEL. *Nat. an.* 4,31; OPP. *Cyn.* 2,489ff. WELLMANN (1892: 402-404) suggests that A. depends on Juba (*FGrHist* 275) and is the source of Pausanias and Oppian. See also JACOBY on *FGrHist* 275 F 47, p. 344-345.

¹¹ It has been omitted by JACOBY, *FGrHist* 150.

compromise—, which it identifies with κέρατα disregarding the prefix ὄδοντο-. The second part of the scholion seems to be a direct quotation from A.

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1073. Megacles
(2nd cent. A.D.?)

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΕΝΔΟΞΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ

- 1 (FHG IV, p. 443) ATHEN. 10,13 p. 419 A: Μάνιος δὲ Κούριος ὁ Ἐρμαίων
στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ γογγυλίσι διεβίω πάντα τὸν χρόνον· καὶ Σαβίνων αὐτῷ πολὺ⁵
χρυσίον προσπεμπόντων οὐκ ἔφη δεῖσθαι χρυσίου, ἔως ᾧ τοιαῦτα δειπνῆ.
5 ιστορεῖ δὲ ταῦτα Μεγακλῆς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν.

¹ Κούριος *Musurus* : Κουρίων *codd.* ² Σαβίνων *codd.* : Σαυνιτῶν *Victorius*

1073. Megacles
(2nd cent. A.D.?)

F

ON FAMOUS MEN

- 1 M.' Curius, the Roman consul, lived on turnips the whole time. And when the Sabines sent him much gold, he said he did not need gold, as long as he had such food for dinner. This is told by Megacles in his book *On Famous Men*.

1073. Megacles
(2nd cent. A.D.?)

Introduction

Regarding his name and work, Megacles¹ is most probably to be dated to Imperial times. At Athens, for instance, the name M. is mainly attested in the Classic period, and after a large gap reappears in the 2nd century A.D.², when classical names again became fashionable. Moreover, it seems to me that a collection of biographies, written by a Greek author, which contained the lives of famous Romans, should not antedate the 1st century A.D. In fact, one would expect such an enterprise to be inspired by Plutarch's great work³ so that M. is perhaps best dated to the 2nd century. The anecdote of how Manius Curius Dentatus, eating turnips, resisted the bribery by the Samnites, a famous Roman exemplum, goes back to the Annalists⁴. M.s version differs from the common tradition, insofar as he attributes the bribery to the Sabines instead of the Samnites. This could be an Annalistic variant, since Curius Dentatus campaigned against both Sabines and Samnites, but it is perhaps preferable to regard it rather as a simple confusion, M. offering a slightly corrupted version⁵. The exact scope and outline of M.s biographical collection remain uncertain. The anecdote may have formed part of a *Life of Cato*, with which it is connected at least since Cicero⁶—Plutarch includes it in his *Life of Cato*, too⁷—, or a *Life of Curius Dentatus*. If Plutarch was his literary model, M.s collection was perhaps similar to Plutarch's and contained the lives of Greek as well as of Roman

¹ Cf. on him LEO (1901: 167); STEIDLE (1963: 142); GEIGER (1985: 39); SCHEPENS (1997: 157 n. 40).

² See FRASER - MATTHEWS II s.v. Μεγακλῆς.

³ Cf., however, LEO (1901: 167), who assumes that M. is a source of Plutarch's.

⁴ For parallels see CIC. *Resp.* 3,40; PLIN. *Nat. hist.* 19,87; VAL. MAX. 4,3,5; DE VIRIS ILLUSTR. 33; cf. especially LEO (1901: 167); for further references MÜNZER (1901: 1844); POWELL (1988: 218).

⁵ It might, however, also be due to Athenaeus or a scribal error, cf. BUX (1931: 127).

⁶ CIC. *Cato* 56. The anecdote might be due to Cato himself. Perhaps Plutarch's version is dependent on Cicero, cf. POWELL (1988: 19; 218).

⁷ PLUT. *Cato Maior* 2: (...) ἐνταῦθα πρὸς ἐσχάρᾳ καθήμενον αὐτὸν (sc. Μάνιον Κούριον ἔψωντα γογγυλίδας εύρόντες οἱ Σαυνίτῶν πρέσβεις ἐδίδοσαν πολὺ χρυσίον, ὁ δ' ἀπέπεμψε φῆσας οὐδὲν χρυσίον δεῖν φεύγοντας ἀρκεῖ τοιοῦτον, αὐτῷ μέντοι τοῦ χρυσίον ἔχειν κάλλιον εἴναι τὸ νικᾶν τοὺς ἔχοντας.

celebrities⁸. But all this is far from certain, and a different approach seems to be possible. The anecdote could in fact be taken from a collection of examples. It is not only included by Valerius Maximus, but also by the pseudo-Plutarchean collection of apophthegms of kings and politicians⁹. Most remarkably, the latter work is referred to as Ἀνδρῶν ἐνδόξων ἀποφθέγματα by Photius¹⁰. The similarity of title and content might suggest that M.s work on famous men was also such a collection.

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⁸ Cf. BUX (1931: 126).

⁹ [PLUT.] *Reg. et imp. apophthegm.* p. 194 E: Σαυνίτῶν δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἡτταν ἀφικομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν (sc. Μάνιον Κούριον) καὶ χρυσίον διδόντων ἔτυχεν ἐν χύτραις ἔψων γογγυλίδας· ἀπεκρίνατο δὴ τοῖς Σαυνίταις μηδὲν χρυσίον δεῖσθαι τοιοῦτον δεῖπνον δεῖπνων, αὐτῷ δὲ βέλτιον εἶναι τοῦ χρυσίον ἔχειν τὸ κρατεῖν τῶν ἔχοντων.

¹⁰ PHOT. *Bibl.* 161 p. 104 b 1.

1074 (= 166). Athenaeus of Naucratis
 (2nd half 2nd cent. A.D.)

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΣΥΡΙΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΩΝ

1 ΑΤΘΕΝ. 5,47 p. 211 A: ἐπαινῶ δ' ἐγώ, ἄνδρες φίλοι, τὸ γενόμενον παρ'
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Συρίας συμπόσιον. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος οὗτος ὃν
 Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς νίός ύποβληθεὶς <τὴν βασιλείαν μετέλαβε>, δι' ὃ
 εἶχον μῖσος πάντες ἄνθρωποι εἰς Δημήτριον· περὶ οὐκ ιστόρησεν ὁ ἑταῖρος
 5 ήμῶν Ἀθήναιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ βασιλευσάντων.

² ὃν codd. : vel scribendum ἦν Casaubonus ³ lacunam statuit Gulick : τὴν βασιλείαν μετέλαβε
 inserui exempli causa || δι' ὃ codd. : δι' ὃν Kaibel in apparatu ('oratio anacolutha')

1074 (= 166). Athenaeus of Naucratis
 (2nd half 2nd cent. A.D.)

F

ON THE KINGS OF SYRIA

1 I praise, my friends, the symposium which took place at the court of Alexander, the king of Syria. This Alexander, purported to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes <was installed as king> because of the hatred the whole world felt against Demetrius. About this our friend Athenaeus wrote in his books *On the Kings of Syria*. (...)

1074 (= 166). Athenaeus of Naucratis

(2nd half 2nd cent. A.D.)

Introduction

The exact nature of Athenaeus' *On the Kings of Syria* remains uncertain. Regarding the title of the work and the content of the fragment, it seems likely that it was a collection of biographies of the Seleucid dynasts, possibly quite similar to Suetonius' biographies of the Roman emperors. Perhaps A. also used this work as a source for other passages of the *Deipnosophists* in which the Seleucids are mentioned¹. As the quotations in these sections and the comparison of our fragment with the parallel account preserved in Iustinus² show, A.s main sources for the Seleucid history were Posidonius and Polybius.

Commentary on the Fragment

(1) The text suffers from corruption. In the second sentence the main verb is missing. There is probably a lacuna after ὑποβληθείς³. Parallel historical accounts help us to judge the nature of the omission⁴: A. speaks about the ascension of the pretender Alexander Balas, who was successfully installed by Attalus II, because the incumbent Seleucid ruler Demetrius I (162-150 b.c.) was highly unpopular⁵. The gap must have contained at least a few words (such as “he was made king”) on his seizure of power. Another difficulty is caused by the connection of the relative clause περὶ οὐκτόρησεν κτλ., which in turn leads to the question of how far the quotation from Athenaeus' *On the Kings of Syria* should be extended. It has been thought to refer to τὸ γενόμενον συμπόσιον. In this case, the account of the symposium at Alexander's court, which follows in Athenaeus 211 B-D, would be

part of the fragment⁶. However, this solution is quite unlikely, because the distance between both clauses appears to be too great and the reference to A.s other work serves the purpose of cutting short the biographical introduction. The reference must be either to Demetrius—in this case, however, one might feel that too much stress is laid on his person—, or to Alexander (οὐ being masculine), or to the whole story of his ascension (οὐ being neuter). Thus, the fragment should end at 211 B.

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⁶ Cf. MÜLLER, *FHG* III, p. 656-657; JACOBY, *FGrHist* 166, who print the text as far as 211 D.

¹ See e.g. ATHEN. 5,21 p. 193 Cff; 5,46 p. 210 Dff.

² IUSTIN. 35,1,8.

³ The lacuna was first stated by GULICK in the Loeb edition. JACOBY, *FGrHist* 166 F 1 (after CASAUBONUS and MÜLLER) changes οὐ to ἦν, but the connection of ἦν νιός ὑποβληθείς with the δι' ο-clause is intolerably harsh.

⁴ Cf. POLYB. 33,18,6; DIOD. *Bibl.* 31,32a.40a; IOS. *Ant. Iud.* 13,35ff (KAIBEL's apparatus criticus should be corrected) and especially IUSTIN. 35,1,8: *tantum odium Demetrii apud omnes erat, ut aemulo eius non vires tantum regiae, verum etiam generis nobilitas consensu omnium tribueretur.*

⁵ On the political events cf. WILL II (1982: 373-378); HABICHT (1989: 362-365).

1075. Cassius Dio

(c. A.D. 150–235)

T

- 1 ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΥ Δίων, ὁ Κάσσιος χρηματίσας, ὁ ἐπίκλην Κοκκηῖος· οἱ δὲ
Κοκκηῖανός· Νικαεύς, ιστορικός, γεγονώς ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ
Μαμαίας. ἔγραψε Ῥωμαϊκὴν ιστορίαν ἐν βιβλίοις πέντε διαιροῦνται δὲ κατὰ
δεκάδας, Περσικά (690 Τ 1), Γετικά (707 Τ 1), Ἐνόδια, Τὰ κατὰ Τραϊανὸν,
5 Βίον Ἀρριανοῦ τοῦ φιλοσόφου.

F

ΒΙΟΣ ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ

² Κοκκηῖανός *A* : Κοκκιανός *V*, cf. *etiam Suda κ 1914 s.v. Κοκκιανός* ³ Μαμαίας *V^uM^v* :
μικροῦ *F* : Μαμέου *rell.* ⁴ Γετικά, Ἐνόδια *edd.* : Γετικὰ ἐνόδια *Mommsen (1882: XXXI)*

1075. Cassius Dio

(c. A.D. 150–235)

T

- ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΥ Δίων, ὁ Κάσσιος χρηματίσας, ὁ ἐπίκλην Κοκκηῖος· οἱ δὲ
Κοκκηῖανός· Νικαεύς, ιστορικός, γεγονώς ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Ἀλεξάνδρου (*sc.*
Severus), son of Mamaea. He wrote a *Roman History* in 80 books which are
organized by decades, *Persika, Getika, Enodia, a History of Trajan, a Life of Arrian,*
the Philosopher.

F

LIFE OF ARRIAN THE PHILOSOPHER

1075. Cassius Dio
(c. A.D. 150–235)

Introduction

Apart from its title no trace is left of Dio's¹ biography of Arrian, to whom he also refers as a good governor in his *Roman History*. D. possibly felt some affinity towards Arrian, since both came from the same province (Bithynia), pursued similar careers in the Roman administration and shared common historical and literary interests². He therefore might have thought him a worthy subject for a biography. The article of the Suda is in a complete mess. D.s works have been conflated with those of two other authors with a similar name. The *Persika* clearly belong to Dinon³, the author of the *Getika* is the famous sophist Dio Chrysostom⁴. The title *Enodia* probably refers to Dio's early book on dreams and signs⁵, which he mentions in his *History*⁶. This might well have been where the Suda found it. The *History of Trajan* may have been a section of Dio's *Roman History*, which was published independently, rather than a separate treatise on the emperor. It is hard to see why D. should have written twice on the same subject, and there is no reference to a second work in D.s *Roman History*, as one would otherwise expect⁷.

¹ On D.s name Κοκκηνός which seems to have been attributed to him first in Byzantine times and his supposed relationship with Dio Chrysostomus cf. GOWING (1990: 49-54).

² Cf. SCHWARTZ (1899: 1685); SCHMID II 2 (1924: 797), who regard the βιος as an early work; HARTMANN (1917: 89); MILLAR (1964: 70).

³ Cf. *FGrHist* 690.

⁴ *FGrHist* 707; MOMMSEN (1882: XXX-XXXI); on the historical work in general see JONES (1978: 122-123); FEIN (1994: 236).

⁵ Cf. SCHMID II 2 (1924: 796) referring to the explanation of the word given by Georgius Hamartolus (n. 11), and [AESCHYL.] *Prom.* 487 (ἐνόδιοι σύμβολοι). Ἐνόδια are things which one comes across on the way that are interpreted as omens. Cf., however, DEL CORNO (1969: 133 n. 1); MOMMSEN (1882: XXXI) without convincing parallel –suggests that ἐνόδια should be taken together with the preceding Γετικά to mean *Diary of the Journey to the Gates*.

⁶ Cf. DIO CASS. 73,23, from book 72 (= F 1 DEL CORNO): βιβλίον τι περὶ τῶν ὀνειράτων καὶ τῶν σημείων, δι' ὧν Σεουῆρος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἤλπισε, γράψας ἐδημοσίευσα.

⁷ Cf. SCHMID II 2 (1924: 797) *contra* HAUPT (1884: 395-397) who regards the work as a laudatory monograph on Trajan written by Dio Chrysostom.

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1076. Nicagoras of Athens

(c. A.D. 180–250)

T

- 1 **1** SUDA v 373 s.v. Νικαγόρας, Μνησαίου ρήτορος, Ἀθηναῖος, σοφιστῆς· γέγονε δὲ κατὰ Φίλιππον τὸν Καίσαρα. Βίους ἐλλογύμων, Περὶ Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἐν Τρωάδι, Πρεσβευτικὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Ρωμαίων βασιλέα.
- 2 SUDA μ 1087 s.v. Μινουκιανός, Νικαγόρου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ, Ἀθηναῖος, σοφιστῆς, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ Γαλιηνοῦ. Τέχνην ρήτορικὴν καὶ προγυμνάσματα καὶ λόγους διαφόρους.
- 3 SUDA μ 46 s.v. Μαῖωρ, Ἀράβιος, σοφιστῆς, ἔγραψε Περὶ στάσεων βιβλία 1γ. συνεχρόνισε δὲ Ἀψίνη καὶ Νικαγόρα, ἐπὶ Φίλιππον τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἐπάνω.
- 4 Syll.³ 845: Νικαγόρας | ὁ τῶν ιερῶν κῆρυξ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς καθέδρας | σοφιστῆς, | Πλουτάρχου καὶ Σέκστου τῶν φιλοσόφων | ἔκγονος.
- 10 **5** PHILOSTR. *Vit. soph.* 2,33,4 p. 127,2 K.: (...) καὶ περὶ Νικαγόρου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, ὃς καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου ιερού κῆρυξ ἐστέφθη, καὶ Ἀψίνης ὁ Φοῖνιξ ἐφ' ὃσον προῦθη μνήμης τε καὶ ἀκριβείας, οὐκ ἐμὲ δεῖ γράφειν, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἀπιστηθείην ὡς χαρισάμενος, ἐπειδὴ φιλία μοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἦν.
- 6 PHILOSTR. *Vit. soph.* 2,27,6 p. 119,25 K.: Νικαγόρου δὲ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ μητέρα σοφιστῶν τὴν τραγῳδίαν προσειπόντος διορθούμενος ὁ Ἰππόδρομος τὸν λόγον “ἐγὼ δὲ” ἔφη “πατέρα “Ομηρον”.
- 7 Eus. *Praep. ev.* 10,3,1.9-11 (= PORPHYR. F 408 SMITH): τὰ Πλατώνεια ἔστιῶν ἡμᾶς Λογγῖνος (1091 T 6) Ἀθήνησι κέκληκεν ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ Νικαγόραν τὸν σοφιστὴν καὶ Μαῖορα Ἀπολλώνιόν τε τὸν γραμματικὸν καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν γεωμέτρην Προσήνην τε τὸν Περιπατητικὸν καὶ τὸν Στωϊκὸν Καλλιέτην. (9-11) “κάγώ”, φησὶν ὁ Νικαγόρας, “ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ἐντυγχάνων αὐτὸν (*sc.* Θεοπόμπου, 115 F 21) τε καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος πολλὰ τὸν Ξενοφῶντος αὐτὸν μετατιθέντα κατείληφα, καὶ τὸ δεινόν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον. τὰ γοῦν περὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον συνόδου δι’ Ἀπολλοφάνους τοῦ

1076. Nicagoras of Athens

(c. A.D. 180–250)

T

- 1** Nicagoras, son of the rhetorician Mnesaeus, Athenian, sophist. He flourished under the Emperor Philippus (A.D. 244-249). *Lives of Famous Men, On Cleopatra in the Troas, a Presbeutikos to the Roman Emperor Philippus*.
- 2** Minucianus, son of the sophist Nicagoras, Athenian, he lived under Gallienus. A *Rhetorical Handbook, Progymnasmata*, and various speeches.
- 3** Maior of Arabia, sophist. He wrote thirteen books *On Staseis*, and was a contemporary of Apsines and Nicagoras, at the times of the Emperor Philippus and before.
- 4** Nicagoras, the herald of the mysteries and holder of the chair of rhetoric, descendant of Plutarch and Sextus, the philosophers.
- 5** (...) and about Nicagoras of Athens, who was also crowned as herald of the Eleusinian mysteries, and about Apsines, the Phoenician, how he excelled in memory and precision, I do not need to write. Anyhow, nobody would believe me, thinking I was paying compliments, since they were my friends.
- 6** When the sophist Nicagoras called tragedy “the mother of the sophists” Hippodromus corrected his words, and said: “I, for my part, call Homer their father.”
- 7** (1) Longinus, entertaining us at Athens in celebration of Plato’s birthday, invited among many others Nicagoras the Sophist, Maior, Apollonius the Grammarian, Demetrius the Geometer, Prosenes the Peripatetic, and Callistes the Stoic. (9-11) Nicagoras said: “And I discovered when I came across his (*sc.* Theopompus’) and Xenophon’s *Hellenika*, that he took over and adapted much of Xenophon,—and, what is annoying, for the worse. In fact, Theopompus has transferred to his eleventh book the negotiation which took place between Pharnabazus and Agesilaus through the agency of

¹⁻³ Μνησαίου ... βασιλέα *A* (GVM) : ὄνομα κύριον *F* ² Βίους *A* : ἔγραψε Βίους *GM* || Κλεοπάτρας *A* : Κλεοπάτριδος *Gutschmid* ⁶ στάσεων *A* : -εως *V* ¹⁷ Πλατώνεια *IO* : Πλωτίνεια *BN* ¹⁸ Λογγῖνος *BIO* : ὁ Λ-*ND* ¹⁹ Νικαγόραν *ODN* : -γόρα *BN* : Νικάνορα *I*

²¹ ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς (*sc.* ιστοριαῖς) *BION* : τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς *Stephanus*

25 Κυζικηνοῦ καὶ τὰς ἀμφοῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνσπόνδους διαλέξεις, ἃς ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ Ξενοφῶν ἀνέγραψε πάνυ χαριέντως καὶ πρεπόντως ἀμφοῖν, εἰς τὴν ἑνδεκάτην τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μεταθείς ὁ Θεόπομπος ἀργά τε καὶ ἀκίνητα πεποίηκε καὶ ἀπρακτα. λόγου γὰρ δύναμιν καὶ διὰ τὴν κλοπὴν ἔξεργασίαν ἐμβάλλειν καὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι σπουδάζων βραδὺς καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἀναβαλλομένω φοίνεται καὶ τὸ ἔμψυχον καὶ ἐνεργὸν τὸ Ξενοφῶντος διαφθείρων.”

8 (a) HIMER. *Or.* 8,21: (...) θρηνῶ νῦν (*sc.* Ρουφίνον), ὃν δεινότερον ἥλπισα Μινουκιανοῦ φθέγξασθαι, σεμνότερον δὲ Νικαγόρου, Πλουτάρχου δὲ εὐγλωττότερον, Μουσανίου δὲ φιλοσοφώτερον, Σέξτου δὲ καρτερικώτερον, πάντων δὲ ὄμοῦ τῶν προγόνων λαμπρότερόν τε καὶ κρείττω. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ παρεχώρουν ἔτι κουρίζοντι σοι τὰ νικητήρια, καὶ τοὺς σοὺς λόγους τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ λόγων ἡγούμην κρείττονας, προκρίνων ἀεὶ τῶν <ἔμων> σπουδασμάτων τὰ σὰ ψελλίσματα. (b) HIMER. *Or.* 7,4: οὗτος ἐστιν ἐκ Πλουτάρχου, δι’ οὐ πάντας ὑμεῖς παιδεύετε. οὗτος ἐκ Μινουκιανοῦ, τοῦ διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φωνῆς πολλοὺς πολλάκις ἐλευθερώσαντος· τὸν ἐκ Νικαγόρου προσήγαγον ύμιν, τὸν ἐξ ἐμαυτοῦ.

F

ΒΙΟΙ ΕΛΛΟΓΙΜΩΝ

ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ

ΠΙΕΡΙ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΤΡΩΙΑΔΙ

²⁵ ἀμφοῖν *BION* : *del. Jacoby* ³⁵ κρείττω *R* : -ονα *Φαμ* : -ον *Φα²* || γὰρ *Φαμ* : *ομ.* *R* ³⁷ προκρίνων ἀεὶ *R* : προύκρινον *Φαμ* || ἐμῶν *suppl. Reiske*

Apollophanes of Cyzicus and the talks they had with each other under truce, about which Xenophon has written very nicely and appropriately to both in his fourth book, and thus he has made the story boring, tedious and weak. In his effort to put on some rhetorical glamour and elaboration because of his plagiarism and to produce a fine oratorical display, he appears to be slow, hesitant, and seemingly lingering, and destroys Xenophon's liveliness and energy.”

8 (a) (...) Now I mourn over him (*sc.* Rufinus), whom I expected to speak with more eloquence than Minucianus, with more solemnity than Nicagoras, with more sweetness than Plutarch, with more learning than Musonius, with more patience than Sextus, and with more brilliance and excellence than all his ancestors together. Regarding myself, I already conceded the palm of victory to you, when you were still a little boy, and thought your words better than mine, always preferring your childish prattle to the products of my studies. (b) He (*sc.* Rufinus) is a descendant of Plutarch, who serves you for a general education, he is a descendant of Minucianus who freed many people on many occasions by his voice. The offspring of Nicagoras I have introduced to you, my own offspring.

F

LIVES OF FAMOUS MEN

PRESBEUTIKOS TO THE ROMAN EMPEROR PHILIPPUS

ON CLEOPATRA IN THE TROAS

1076. Nicagoras of Athens

(c. A.D. 180–250)

Introduction

Nicagoras I, son of Mnesaeus, belonged to one of the leading Athenian families¹. In view of his long family tree N. can be compared with the historian Dexippus². He may have been a grandson of the famous 2nd century orator Minucianus (T 2)³ and counted Plutarch and the Stoic Sextus among his ancestors (T 4). In general, preoccupation with literature seems to have been common in N.s family, since his son Minucianus II is also mentioned as a sophist under the Emperor Gallienus (T 2), and in the fourth century the famous orator Himerius married a daughter of his grandson Nicagoras II (T 8). There was also some long-standing connection between the family and the Eleusinian mysteries. N. himself was a sacred herald (T 4; 5)⁴. He seems to have been appointed to the office in the thirties, and we should also date his *floruit* to this time⁵. About the same time, at least not later than the forties, he also held a chair of rhetoric at Athens. It was probably in this function that he was chosen as an ambassador to the Emperor Philippus Arabs, on which occasion he wrote his *Presbeutikos* to him⁶. N. was acquainted with the Athenian intellectual élite of his days. Apart from Philostratus and Hippodromus he associated with Longinus (1091) and Maior (T 5-7). It is hard to tell whether N. himself was influenced by Platonic thought, but he might well have shown some interest in Platonism⁷, as did his ancestors,

¹ On N. and his genealogy cf. SCHISSEL (1927: 361-373); MILLAR (1969: 17-18); HEATH (1996: 66-70).

² See especially MILLAR (1969: 19-20).

³ SCHISSEL (1927: 366). The evidence (T 8 a), however, for this assumption is weak, cf. HEATH (1996: 66-70).

⁴ His grandson N. II even reached the rank of a daduch, cf. on him OGIS 720-721; SCHISSEL (1927: 369-370); CLINTON (1974: 64-66); FOWDEN (1987: 51-57).

⁵ SCHISSEL (1927: 367) dates N.s birth as far back as the last years of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 175-180). That N. must have been born in the eighties or nineties of the 2nd century is also suggested by his friendship with Philostratus (T 5) and his meeting with Hippodromus (T 6). In contrast, the Suda dates N.s *floruit* to the reign of Philippus Arabs (A.D. 244-249), apparently because he wrote a *Presbeutikos* to this emperor (T 1; 3). However, the wording “and earlier” (*καὶ ἐπάνω*) shows that the Suda felt a bit unhappy about this date.

⁶ STEIN (1917: 767); BOWIE (1982: 56).

⁷ SCHISSEL (1927: 368); ALFÖLDY (1967: 246-247).

especially since rhetoric and philosophy often went together in Imperial times⁸. Primarily, however, he—like Philostratus—should be regarded as a *σοφιστής* rather than a philosopher⁹. The exact date of N.s death is uncertain. He probably died shortly after the middle of the century (T 7). N.s literary oeuvre is completely lost. All we have is a list of titles (T 1). The most interesting work apart from N.s *Presbeutikos to Philippus* is his collection of biographies (*Βίοι ἑλλογίμων*). They were possibly used as a source by Hesychius¹⁰. Although their content and scope is unknown, one might assume that the *Lives* written by Plutarch, his famous ancestor, served as a model for N. and as a stimulus for his own literary production. It should also be noted that Philostratus’ *Lives of Sophists* were written about the same time. There may have been some similarities, too.

Commentary on the Testimonies

T

(1) Nothing else is known about Mnesaeus, N.s father. He was perhaps the son of Minucianus I.¹¹ As the title *On Cleopatra in the Troas* shows, this was a speech (*πεπλασμένη ὑπόθεσις*) on a mythical subject. Cleopatra was one of the first two virgins whom the Locrians sent to Troy to atone for the sacrilege committed by Aias against Athena¹². It clearly belongs in the context of the rhetorical school¹³. It should perhaps be viewed within the frame of N.s activities as a professor of rhetoric. The *Presbeutikos to the Emperor Philippus* has been identified with the encomium on an emperor, which is transmitted among the speeches of Aristides¹⁴. However, the attribution seems problematic, especially since there is no hint of an embassy in the speech¹⁵.

⁸ PERNOT II (1993: 493-498; especially 495).

⁹ Pace DÖRRIE III (1993: 348-349) it is hardly justifiable to count him among the Neo-Platonists.

¹⁰ ROHDE (1914: 385 n. 1).

¹¹ SCHISSEL (1927: 366-367).

¹² Cf. on the myth APOLLOD. *Bibl.* 6,20ff with the commentary of FRAZER (1921: 268-269).

¹³ STEGEMANN (1936: 217); MILLAR (1969: 13), who also lists other subjects of such speeches.

¹⁴ [ARISTID.] *Or.* 35; GROAG (1918: 40-45).

¹⁵ SCHISSEL (1927: 368); STEGEMANN (1936: 217) both refer to number XXX by mistake. In general, STEGEMANN seems to have copied SCHISSEL.

(2) The entry of the Suda appears to be confused. The biographical data belong to Minucianus, son of Nicagoras. The list of works seems to be rather that of the elder Minucianus¹⁶.

(3) The sophist Maior of Arabia remains obscure¹⁷. He is dated by synchronism with N. and Apsines (*Jl.* A.D. 235-238)¹⁸, which might be inferred from Porphyry (T 7)¹⁹. Traces of his work on στάσεις survive in the scholia to Hermogenes²⁰. Since Porphyry makes Maior take part in Longinus' celebration of the Platoneia (T 7), he seems to have been of some importance. He might have held an official chair of rhetoric like N., perhaps the Imperial one, since Maior was not a native Athenian.

(4) The inscription comes from the base of a statue and gives N.'s titles and famous ancestors. The ιεροκήρυξ of the Eleusinian mysteries took part in the sacred ceremonies and had the status of a priest²¹. "His function in the cult was evidently simply that of herald. He accompanied the hierophant and the daduch at the *prorrhesis* of the Mysteries, and under their authority, made the actual announcement."²² N. must have been appointed to the office, which was for life, in the thirties. A *terminus post quem* is the year 230/31, because his predecessor Cassianus was still alive at that time²³, a *terminus ante quem* is the year 237/238, because Philostratus' *Lives of Sophists*, in which N. is referred to as a *keryx* (T 5), must have been written before that year²⁴. Furthermore, N. is called ἐπὶ τῆς καθέδρας σοφιστῆς, which means that he held an official chair of rhetoric at Athens. It remains uncertain, whether the Imperial chair or the municipal chair, installed by the Athenians themselves, is meant. Perhaps the latter solution is slightly preferable, since Athenian birth seems to have been required for the tenure of the local chair²⁵ and N. is one of the few known intellectuals in third century Athens who was a native. It is uncertain when N. was appointed (T 5).

¹⁶ GLÖCKNER (1901: 24); in general SCHISSEL (1927: 365-366; 368-369); HEATH (1996: 66 n. 3).

¹⁷ Cf. on him SCHMID II 2 (1924: 938).

¹⁸ SUDA α 4735 s.v. Ἀγίνης.

¹⁹ HEATH (1996: 67).

²⁰ SCHOL. HERMOG. *Stas.* IV p. 304; 324 WALZ; SYRIAN. SCHOL. HERMOG. *Stas.* p. 67,1 RABE.

²¹ CLINTON (1974: 76-82).

²² CLINTON (1974: 81).

²³ IG II² 2241; 3707; CLINTON (1974: 80).

²⁴ SOLMSEN (1941: 169-170); ROTHE (1989: 5-6).

²⁵ AVOTINS (1975: 317-19).

(5) Philostratus mentions his contemporaries N. and Apsines by means of a *praeteritio*. He excuses his omission with the remark that they are his friends. The imperfect φιλία ἦν refers to a condition which still pertains in the present moment²⁶. Disregarding the hieronymy Philostratus distinguishes N. as τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου ιεροῦ κήρυξ. His words show that a coronation was involved in the ceremony of a herald's appointment²⁷. It is quite curious that Philostratus should only refer to N.'s priesthood without mentioning his distinction as a professor of rhetoric, even though the context would call for it. Philostratus' silence might suggest that N. got the professorship only when these lines had already been written²⁸. A *terminus ante quem* seems to be the reign of Philippus Arabs, because it is quite likely that the *Presbeutikos* was written by N. during his tenure of the chair.

(6) Hippodromus, whose life is extensively treated by Philostratus²⁹, appears to have held the Imperial chair of rhetoric at Athens from A.D. 209-213³⁰. The situation described is hardly that of a classroom³¹, but of a rhetorical contest at some festival, in which Hippodromus tried to outdo his rival. Sophists often referred to ancient poets, especially Homer, as their literary models³².

(7) Although Porphyry's description of the banquet given by Longinus (1091)³³, the head of the Platonic school, might be fictitious, it nevertheless gives a good impression of the cultural climate in Athens towards the middle of the 3rd century A.D. The situation fits the forties or the fifties equally well so that nothing can be gained from it for N.'s chronology. Longinus has assembled the leading intellectuals of his time, who adhere to various professions and philosophical schools³⁴. They talk about literary plagiarism in a peaceful atmosphere³⁵. N.'s contribution to the discussion concerns Theopompus' plagiarism of Xenophon³⁶. The subject of his speech is purely liter-

²⁶ KG I p. 145-146.

²⁷ CLINTON (1974: 81).

²⁸ Pace SCHISSEL (1927: 367) who thinks that N. was appointed near A.D. 230.

²⁹ PHILOSTR. *Vit. soph.* 2,27 with the detailed comment by ROTHE (1988: 217-249).

³⁰ AVOTINS (1975: 323-324); ROTHE (1989: 25).

³¹ This seems to be implied by SCHISSEL (1927: 367), who assumes that N. might have been a pupil of Hippodromus.

³² Cf. especially PERNOT II (1993: 646-653); HILLGRUBER (1994: 31-35).

³³ Cf. on 1091. Longinus T 6 for further comment.

³⁴ Cf. also MILLAR (1969: 16-17).

³⁵ On Porphyry's sources, cf. Eus. *Praep. ev.* 10,3,23 (= PORPHYR. F 409 SMITH) and STEMLINGER (1912: 34-35; 46-47; 48-51). Perhaps it is taken from Pollio's *Iχνευταί*.

³⁶ On the relationship between Xenophon's and Theopompus' *Greek Histories* cf. the exhaustive study of BLECKMANN (1998).

ary, and since the company is a mixed one, it cannot be used as evidence that N. had an inclination for Neo-Platonism³⁷.

(8) Talking about his son Rufinus, Himerius, son-in-law of Nicagoras II, gives two lists of his son's ancestors. It is hard to tell which N. is referred to each time. (a) In his monody on Rufinus' death (c. A.D. 358) Himerius lists his son's ancestors without any chronological order. He does not speak about virtues in general but about qualities of speech³⁸. Since it was N. I rather than N. II who was distinguished as a *σοφιστής*, it seems likely that he is the one mentioned here³⁹. Likewise, identifying Minucianus is problematic. Since it is uncertain whether Minucianus I belongs to N.s family at all, it seems advisable to identify the one mentioned with Minucianus II, son of N. I, and not to postulate a relationship, which is otherwise unattested⁴⁰.

(b) In his speech on the occasion of Rufinus' ἐλευθέρωσις (c. A.D. 345) Himerius seems to list Rufinus' immediate ancestors in chronological order: Minucianus II, Nicagoras II, and himself⁴¹.

³⁷ Cf. SCHISSEL (1927: 368).

³⁸ The infinitive φθέγξασθαι is epexegetic not only to δεινότερον but also to the following adjectives.

³⁹ See SCHISSEL (1927: 364; 370); cf., however, COLONNA (1951), in his app. of testimonies, and MILLAR (1969: 17), who believe that it is N. II like in T 8b.

⁴⁰ HEATH (1996: 68-69).

⁴¹ SCHISSEL (1927: 370).

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1077. Charon of Carthage

(2nd 3rd cent. A.D.?)

T

1 SUDA χ 137 s.v. Χάρων. Καρχηδόνιος, ιστορικός. Ὑγραψε Τυράννους, ὅσοι ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ καὶ Ἀσίᾳ γεγόνασι, Βίους ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν ἐν βιβλίοις δ', Βίους γυναικῶν ὄμοιώς ἐν τέσσαρσιν.

F

TYRANNOI

BIOI ENDOΞΩΝ ANΔΡΩΝ

BIOI (ENDOΞΩΝ?) ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ

1077. Charon of Carthage

(2nd 3rd cent. A.D.?)

T

1 Charon of Carthage, historian. He wrote *Tyrants in Europe and Asia*, *Lives of Famous Men* in four books, *Lives of Women* also in four books.

F

TYRANTS

LIVES OF FAMOUS MEN

LIVES OF (FAMOUS?) WOMEN

1077. Charon of Carthage

(2nd–3rd cent. A.D.?)

Introduction

Charon cannot be dated with any certainty¹. He seems to have lived either in Hellenistic times, before the destruction of Carthage², or rather in the Imperial period, when the city was refounded as a Roman colony³. According to the Suda he wrote three biographical works. First, a collection of biographies of tyrants, as were also written by Phaenias and Baton of Sinope⁴. Secondly, four books of *Lives of Famous Men*⁵. This collection may have contained the lives of politicians and military leaders, and perhaps of men of letters as well. Its title suggests that it was similar in kind to the collections made by Theseus (1078) and Megacles (1073)⁶. Thus, it belongs to the same tradition as Nepos' *Viri illustres*⁷. Finally, four books of *Lives of Famous Women*⁸. Unfortunately there is no extant example of this genre. The closest parallel seems to be Plutarch's *Mulierum virtutes*. Several similar collections were compiled by Sopater in his *Anthology*⁹. As the matching number of books suggests, Ch. may have composed the work as a

¹ SUSEMIHL II (1892: 386 n. 219); JACOBY in his unpublished notes: "Zeit scheint mir unbestimmbar"; VON DER MÜHLL (1976: 369); GEIGER (1985: 39-40); SCHEPENS (1997: 157 n. 40).

² SCHWARTZ (1899: 2180).

³ KAHRSTEDT III (1913: 25 n. 1): "Die beiden Historiker Charon (...) und Prokles (...) haben mit dem punischen Karthago ebenso wenig etwas zu tun. Ersterer handelte von Tyrannen in Europa und Asien, d. h. er hatte Interessen für griechische, sogar für ältere griechische Geschichte. Solche archaischen Tendenzen in einem Karthagener des 3. Jahrhunderts vorauszusetzen, ist sehr gewagt. Dagegen passt der Titel des Buches durchaus in die archaisch interessierte Literatur der Kaiserzeit. Charon war mit seinem griechischen Namen sicherlich ein Bürger des neuen kaiserlichen Karthago; da er erst bei Suidas erscheint, kann man mit ihm beliebig weit heruntergehen."

⁴ Cf. LEO (1901: 117); BERVE I (1967: 488).

⁵ The title of the work seems to have been Βίοι ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν, cf. STEIDLE (1963: 142), rather than Βίοι, as LEO (1901: 117).

⁶ The word ἐνδόξος refers to celebrities of all kinds, cf. STEIDLE (1963: 142) against LEO (1901: 132) who thinks that it included only men of letters.

⁷ Although all of these authors seem to have written after Nepos, GEIGER's assumption that Nepos was "the first writer of political biography" (1985: 66) is misconceived, cf. SCHINDEL (1993: 20).

⁸ Cf. especially GERA (1997: 33-34).

⁹ PHOT. *Bibl.* 161; cf. the commentary on 1099. ARTEMON.

counterpart to his biographies of famous men¹⁰. Since Ch.'s oeuvre seems to have been mainly biographical, the attribution of further geographical works¹¹—given by the Suda to Ch. of Lampsacus—seems to be unfounded¹².

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¹⁰ GERA (1997: 33).

¹¹ Cf. MÜLLER, *FHG* IV, p. 360: "Fortasse Carthaginiensi vel Naucratitae tribuenda sunt Αἰθιοπικά sive Λιβυκά, Κρητικά (de legibus Minois), necnon Περιπλους τῶν ἔκτος τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν (nisi hic fortasse est "Αννώνος περιπλους), quae omnia Suidas vindicat Charoni Lampasaceno." Thus also SCHWARTZ (1899: 2180).

¹² JACOBY in his commentary on *FGrHist* 262 T 1 p. 3 (similarly in his unpublished notes).

1078 (= 453). Theseus
(2nd–3rd cent. A.D.?)

T

- 1 1 SUDA θ 363 s.v. Θησεύς, ιστορικός. Βίους ἐνδόξων ἐν βιβλίοις πέντε, Κορινθιακῶν ἐν βιβλίοις τρισίν, ἐν φ' δηλοῖ τὴν κατάστασιν τοῦ Ἰσθμιακοῦ ἀγῶνος.

F

KOPINΘΙΑΚΑ Α-Γ

1 Cf. *FGrHist* 453 F 1

BIOI ENΔΟΞΩΝ Α-Ε

1A ANTH. GR. 14,77 (= SCHOL. HERODOT. 1,65,3):

- 5 χρησμὸς ἐν τοῖς Θησέως βίοις ἀναφερόμενος:
ὅλβιος οὗτος ἀνήρ, ὃς νῦν κατὰ λάινον οὐδὸν
Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος χρηστήριον εἰσαναβαίνει,
ἥλυθεν εὐνομίην διζήμενος: αὐτῷ ἐγώ τοι
δώσω, ἦν οὐκ ἄλλῃ ἐπιχθονίων πόλις ἔξει.

Untitled Fragments

- 10 2 STOB. *Flor.* 3,7,68: ἐκ τῶν Θησέως. Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι περὶ χωρίου Θυρέας ἐν μεθορίῳ κειμένης μέχρι μέν τινος ὅλοις τοῖς στρατεύμασι παρετάσσοντο πρὸς ὄλλήλους. τέλος <δ> > ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιλέξαι παρ' ἑκατέρων τριακοσίους, κάκείνων μαχεσαμένων τοῖς κρατήσασιν διαφέρειν

² Κορινθιακῶν *codd.* : -κά Müller : *fort.* -κόν *scriendum* ¹¹ Θυρέας Meineke : Θυραίας *codd.* ¹² δ' *suppl.* Meineke

1078 (= 453). Theseus
(2nd–3rd cent. A.D.?)

T

- 1 Theseus, a historian. *Lives of Famous Men* in five books, *History of Corinth* in three books, in which he explains the institution of the Isthmian games.

F

HISTORY OF CORINTH

1 Cf. *FGrHist* 453 F 1

LIVES OF FAMOUS MEN 1-5

1A

An oracle reported in the *Lives of Theseus*:

Happy is the man, who now over the threshold of stone
enters the sanctuary of Phoebus Apollo.
He came to look for good laws. But I
will give him such, as no other city on earth will have.

Untitled Fragments

- 2 From Theseus: The Spartans and the Argives fought against each other for some time with their entire armies about Thyrea, a strip of land on their border. Finally, they decided to select three-hundred on each side. They should fight, and the land should belong to the victorious party. After the

τὸ χωρίον. οὐπερ γενομένου, Ὄθρυάδης Λακεδαιμόνιος στρατιώτης πολλοὺς
 15 ἀποκτείνας καὶ πολλὰ τετρωμένος ἔκειτο μεταξὺ τῶν ἀνηρημένων
 Λακεδαιμονίων μόνος περιλειφθείς, Ἀργείων δὲ δύο Ἀλκήνωρ καὶ Χρόμιος·
 ὃν ἀπελθόντων εἰς Ἀργος ἀπαγγεῖλαι τὴν νίκην, Ὄθρυάδης πολλοὺς
 σκυλεύσας τῶν πολεμίων τρόπαιον ἔστησε, καὶ χρησάμενος τῷ τῶν
 τραυμάτων αἷματι ἐπέγραψεν “Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατ’ Ἀργείων”. καὶ τοῦτο
 20 πράξας ἀπέθανεν.

3 ΣΤΟΒ. *Flor.* 3,7,69: τοῦ αὐτοῦ λοιμοῦ κατασχόντος τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν διὰ τὴν
 ἀναιρεσιν τῶν κηρύκων τῶν ἀποσταλέντων παρὰ Ξέρξου αἰτοῦντος γῆν καὶ
 25 ὕδωρ ὥσπερ ἀπαρχὰς δουλείας, χρησμὸς ἐδόθη ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς, εἴ γέ
 τινες ἔλοιντο Λακεδαιμονίων παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναιρεθῆναι. τότε Βοῦλις
 καὶ Σπέρχις ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς βασιλέα ήξιον ἀναιρεθῆναι. ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας
 αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπανιέναι προσέταξεν.

¹⁴ Λακεδαιμόνιος στρατιώτης *gloss.* *esse suspicatur Hense* : Λακεδαιμονίων στρατηγὸς *Barth ex Ps.-Plut. Parall. min. 3 A p. 306 B* ¹⁶ Ἀλκήνωρ καὶ Χρόμιος *Wesseling* : Ἀλκήνωρος καὶ Χραμίου
codd., *genitivum servandum putat Bücheler* ¹⁸ χρησάμενος *A* : χρισ- *M* ²³ αὐτοὺς *codd.* : -οῦ
maxuli Wachsmuth ²⁴ Βοῦλις *Hense ex Herodot. 7,134,2* : βούλης *codd.* ²⁵ Σπέρχις *Jacoby, cf.*
Plut. Praec. ger. reip. 19 p. 815 E : Σπέρχης *codd.* : Σπερθίης *Hense ex Herodot.*

battle, the Spartan soldier Othryades, having killed many people and received many wounds, lay among the dead Spartans as the only survivor. On the side of the Argives two, Alcenor and Chromius, had survived. When they had gone to Argos to report the victory, Othryades stripped many enemies of their armour and set up a trophy, and with the blood of his wounds he wrote on it “The Spartans over the Argives.” And having done this he died.

3 From the same: When a plague had struck the Spartans, because they had killed the heralds sent by Xerxes, who was demanding water and earth as the first token of their submission, an oracle was given that they would be freed from it, when some Spartans would choose to die at the king’s hands. Then Bulis and Sperchis went to the king and demanded to be killed, but he, admiring their virtue, ordered them to go home.

1078 (= 453). Theseus
(2nd–3rd cent. A.D.?)

Introduction

Theseus remains obscure¹. Regarding his name, he probably came from Athens and lived in the period of the 2nd – 3rd century A.D. The first dated instance of his name belongs to the 2nd century. There are also several persons called T. in the following century in Athens². Generally, classical names appear to have been in vogue in this period. Moreover, the preserved fragments of his work show many features which are typical of products of the Second Sophistic. Apart from three books of *Korinthiaka* Th. wrote a collection of biographies, which seems to have included a life of Lycurgus (F 1A). Although the exact outline of this work remains unknown, one might assume that Th. was inspired to some extent by Plutarch.

Commentary on the Fragments

(1A) Until recently, the lemma of the *Palatine Anthology* was thought to refer to the Attic hero Theseus, although in this case the plural τῶν βίων would seem rather odd. Moreover, no such oracle is known in connection with him. It therefore seems best to regard the remarks in the anthology as a reference to the author Th. and his *Lives*³. The oracle was probably mentioned in the *vita* of Lycurgus, who heard it on his visit to Delphi. Herodotus gives some lines of a Delphic response to Lycurgus—actually Th.s version is quoted as a variant to it by a scholium—, which is also preserved by Diodorus and Oenomaus in a slightly enlarged form⁴. Th.s version is a kind of pastiche of the latter and some other oracle quoted by Herodotus⁵. Thus, his work-

¹ Cf. on him apart from JACOBY on *FGrHist* 453; STEIDLE (1963: 142); GEIGER (1985: 40); CORCELLA (1996: 261-266).

² Cf. FRASER – MATTHEWS II s.v. Θησεύς; CORCELLA (1996: 265 n. 22).

³ The discovery is due to CORCELLA (1996: 261-266), who sums up the preceding discussion on p. 261-262.

⁴ HERODOT. 1,65,3; DIOD. 7,12,1; OENOMAUS F 10 HAMMERSTAEDT (= EUS. *Praep. ev.* 5,28). There is also a paraphrase of it in prose in PLUT. *Lyc.* 5.

⁵ Cf. PARKE – WORMELL II (1956: 235 no. 607); CORCELLA (1996: 262-263) with further references. Its first line seems to be adapted from HERODOT. 5,92: ὅλθιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον ἐσκαταβάινει. Its last two lines correspond to the last two lines of Diodorus' version (7,12,1): ἥκεις δὲ εὐνομίαν διζήμενος αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε || δώσω τὴν οὐκ ὄλλῃ ἐπιχθονίην πόλις ἔξει.

ing methods are such as one would expect of an author of the Second Sophistic.

(2-3) Since Stobaeus mentions no title, it is difficult to tell what kind of work it is from which the two stories about Spartan virtue are derived. One should not exclude the possibility⁶ that they are taken from Th.s biographies⁷. They may, for instance, have formed part of the biography of Lycurgus. Perhaps they were adduced as examples to illustrate the excellence of the Spartan constitution⁸. Similarly Plutarch in his *Life of Lycurgus* tells anecdotes about Agesilaus and others⁹. The story of Othryades, first told by Herodotus¹⁰, is a stock example of the rhetorical school¹¹. There is a quite intriguing parallel with Ps.-Plutarch's *Parallela Minora*¹², where the story is attributed to the *Peloponnesiaka* of the fictitious Chrysermus of Corinth. The question is how both accounts relate to one another. It seems to me that, in this instance, Stobaeus' version is not derived from the *Parallela*, but possibly taken from Theseus himself or another collection¹³. In this case, both Th. and the author of the *Parallela* would go back to the same rhetorical vulgata¹⁴. But perhaps one might go even further and argue that Th. hides behind the fictitious Chrysermus of Corinth. At least, Th.s *Korinthiaka* seem to have inspired both the invention of

⁶ Pace JACOBY on *FGrHist* 453, p. 303: „aber wer Βίοι ἐνδόξων, Ἰστορίαι oder Διηγῆσις—denn F 2/3 stammen wohl aus solchen, jedenfalls nicht aus den Βίοι; niemand wird garantieren wollen dass die schriftenliste der Suda vollständig ist—und ein buch über Korinth schreibt, gehört in römische, vielleicht erst in die Kaiserzeit (...).“

⁷ Thus MÜLLER, *FHG* IV, p. 518; LEO (1901: 117).

⁸ CORCELLA (1996: 264 n. 19).

⁹ Cf. e.g. PLUT. *Lyc.* 13; 19-20.

¹⁰ HERODOT. 1,82.

¹¹ KOHLMANN (1874: 474-479); for epigrams see GOW – PAGE II (1965: 220-221; 424).

¹² [PLUT.] *Parall. min.* 3 A p. 306 A-B (= *FGrHist* 287 F 2): Ἀργείων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπὲρ Θυρεάτιδος χώρας πολεμούντων, οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες ἔκριναν πολεμῆσαι ἕκατέρων τριακοσίους, καὶ τῶν νικησάντων εἶναι τὴν χώραν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέν οὖν Θυραδὴν ἐποίησαν στρατηγόν, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ Θέρσανδρον. πολεμούντων δὲ δύο ἐκ τῶν Ἀργείων περιελείφθησαν Ἀγήνωρ καὶ Χρόμιος, οἵτινες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἤγγειλαν τὴν νίκην. Ηρεμίας δ' ὑπαρχούσης, Θυραδὴς ἐπιζήσας καὶ ήμικλάστοις δόρασιν ἐπερειδόμενος τὰς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀρτάζων ἀσπίδας περιείλετο, καὶ τρόπαιον στήσας ἐκ τοῦ ιδίου οὔματος ἐπέγραψε “Διὶ τροπαιούχῳ”. καὶ τῶν δῆμουν στάσιν ἔχοντων οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες αὐτόπται γενόμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοις προσκρίνονται, καθάπερ Χρύσερμος ἐν γ Πελοποννησιακῶν.

¹³ Cf., however, JACOBY on *FGrHist* 287 F 2, p. 385, who thinks that Th. and Chrysermus were quoted side by side in the original version of the *Parallela*. Nevertheless he concedes that “die Tatsache, dass bei Stob. 69 mit τῷ αὐτῷ eine zweite spartanische geschichte folgt, einen ganz leisen zweifel erweckt, ob § 68 das gewöhnliche Verhältnis Par ~ Stob obwaltet.”

¹⁴ CORCELLA (1996: 263).

Chrysermus' native city Corinth¹⁵ and the title *Peloponnesiaka*. The story of Bulis' and Sperthias' embassy to the Persian court also goes back to Herodotus¹⁶, and also belongs to the favourite rhetorical examples¹⁷. Th.s version is historically inaccurate, since the Spartans did not kill the ambassadors of Xerxes, but those of Darius. Th. gives Sperchis instead of Sperthias as the name of the second Spartan ambassador. The carelessness in matters of historical detail would seem typical of an historian of the Second Sophistic.

¹⁵ Cf. JACOBY on *FGrHist* 287 F 2, p. 385.

¹⁶ HERODOT. 7,134-7.

¹⁷ Cf. CORCELLA (1996: 264 n. 16) for a collection of parallels.

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1079. Timotheus of Athens
(2nd–3rd cent. A.D.?)

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΒΙΩΝ

1 (*FHG* IV, p. 523) DIOG. LAERT. 3,4-5: εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ καὶ παλαιῖσαι φασιν αὐτὸν (*sc.* Πλάτωνο) Ἰσθμοῖ, καθὰ καὶ Δικαίαρχος (F 40 WEHRLI I) ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ βίων, καὶ γραφικῆς ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ ποιήματα γράψαι, πρῶτον μὲν διθυράμβους, ἔπειτα καὶ μέλη καὶ τραγῳδίας. ισχνόφωνός τε, φασίν, ἦν, ὡς 5 καὶ Τιμόθεος φησιν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων.

2 DIOG. LAERT. 4,4: Πλούταρχος δέ φησιν ἐν τῷ Λυσάνδρου βίῳ καὶ Σύλλα φθειρίσιν ἐκέέσαι αὐτὸν (*sc.* Σπεύσιππον [Τ 1 TARÁN]). ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα διακεχυμένος, ὡς φησι Τιμόθεος ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων. οὗτος, φασί, πρὸς τὸν ἔρωντα πλούσιον ἀμόρφου ἔφη, “Τί δέ σοι δεῖ τούτου; ἐγὼ γάρ σοι δέκα 10 ταλάντων εὐμορφοτέραν εύρησω.”

3 DIOG. LAERT. 5,1: οὗτος (*sc.* Ἀριστοτέλης) γνησιώτατος τῶν Πλάτωνος μαθητῶν, τραυλὸς τὴν φωνήν, ὡς φησι Τιμόθεος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων ἄλλα καὶ ισχνοσκελής, φασίν, ἦν καὶ μικρόμματος ἐσθῆτι τ’ ἐπισήμῳ χρώμενος καὶ δακτυλίοις καὶ κουρῷ. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ υἱὸν Νικόμαχον ἐξ 15 Ἐρπυλλίδος τῆς παλλακῆς, ὡς φησι Τίμαιος.

4 (SVF I T 1) DIOG. LAERT. 7,1: Ζήνων Μνασέου ἢ Δημέου, Κιτιεὺς ἀπὸ Κύπρου, πολίσματος Ἑλληνικοῦ Φοίνικας ἐποίκους ἐσχηκότος. τὸν τράχηλον ἐπὶ θάτερα νενευκὼς ἦν, ὡς φησι Τιμόθεος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων.

³ ἐπιμεληθῆναι BP: ἐπειμελήθη F || γράψαι BP: ἔγραψε F ⁸ φασί Wilamowitz: φησί codd.

¹⁵ Τίμαιος Müller, *FHG* I, p. 211: Τιμόθεος codd. ¹⁶ Μνασέου BF: -σαιου P || Δημέου B: -μαιου PF

1079. Timotheus of Athens
(2nd–3rd cent. A.D.?)

F

ON LIVES

1 Others also say that he (*sc.* Plato) wrestled at the Isthmian games, as does Dicaearchus in the first book *On Lives*, and that he painted and wrote poetry, first dithyrambs, afterwards also lyric poems and tragedies. And they say that he had a weak voice, as is also confirmed by Timotheus of Athens in his book *On Lives*.

2 Plutarch says in his *Life of Lysander and Sulla* that he (*sc.* Speusippus) suffered from phtieiriasis. His body was also wasted, as Timotheus says in his book *On Lives*. He is reported to have said to a rich man who loved an ugly woman: “What is the need of it? I can find you a better one for ten talents.”

3 He (*sc.* Aristotle) was Plato’s most genuine pupil. He spoke with a lisp, as Timotheus of Athens says in his book *On Lives*. Furthermore, he had thin legs, they say, small eyes, wore an elegant dress, rings and had his hair cut. He also had a son by his concubine Herpyllis who was called Nicomachus, as Timaeus tells us.

4 Zeno, son of Mnaseas or Demeas, from Citium on Cyprus, a Greek city with Phoenician colonists. He had a twisted neck, as is told by Timotheus of Athens in his book *On Lives*.

1079. Timotheus of Athens

(2nd–3rd cent. A.D.?)

Introduction

Timotheus of Athens cannot be dated with certainty¹. It seems to me that he is best placed in the Imperial period². The quotations Diogenes gives from his work are all quite short. They are contained within a different and larger context, to which they are only slightly related, and sometimes seriously interrupt the chain of thought. The patchwork thus seems to belong to a recent stage of compilation. The material taken from T. was apparently added as new information to an older vulgata. Hence T. appears to be a late author. In his work T. spoke about the lives of philosophers, pointing out their physical weaknesses³. It was probably a collection of biographies, Περὶ βίων being only a short title. However, one should not exclude the possibility that it was an ethical treatise, in which different modes of life were contrasted. The bodily deficiency of the philosophers was perhaps opposed to their superiority of mind. It is difficult to tell whether T. should be identified with T. of Pergamum (1117), who is said to have written on the virtue of philosophers. If his work had a moral purpose, it is in fact possible that he is the same person.

Commentary on the Fragments

(1) That Plato had a weak voice is not attested anywhere else. The information is inserted into an account of the artistic and literary ambitions Plato pursued in his youth, before he turned to philosophy⁴. Perhaps it was originally made up to provide a physical reason why Plato stopped being a poet or tragic actor.

(2) The whole section is a kind of patchwork. It starts with an imprecise reference to the catalogue of those who died from *phtheiriasis* which Plutarch gives in the *Life of Sulla*⁵. Plutarch, however,

¹ JACOBY in his *Nachlaß* p. 978: "citiert nur bei Diog. Laert. u. nur dahin zu bestimmen, dass er frühestens in die erste Hälfte des 3. Jhdts. v. Chr. gehört."

² The classicizing name occurs frequently in Athens in the 2nd century A.D., cf. FRASER MATTHEWS II s.v. Τιμόθεος.

³ Cf. also 1062. SORANUS F 2,12 for an example.

⁴ Cf. MENSCHING (1964: 382); for similar anecdotes SWIFT RIGINOS (1976: 43–51).

⁵ PLUT. *Sulla* 36.

does not include Speusippus. Next, T. is quoted for the information that Speusippus was τὸ σῶμα διακεχυμένος. The expression is difficult. After the preceding words one would expect it to describe a physical deficiency⁶, but, reading on, a moral sense seems to be required⁷. If the transmitted text was correct (φησί), the latter solution would be preferable, because in this case the following anecdote would also be derived from T.⁸, the expression τὸ σῶμα διακεχυμένος serving as its introduction. However, the transmission seems to suffer from corruption⁹. In all other instances T. is quoted for just one physical trait. Usually the reference to him is limited to one sentence, which is inserted into a larger context. In F 1 and F 3 further information is added with φασίν, and this is what should also be read in this place¹⁰. Perhaps T. only mentioned Speusippus' bodily deformity, and his statement was afterwards combined with similar though slightly different data by some other author, maybe Diogenes himself. Hence the present difficulty involved in determining the exact sense.

(3) T. is explicitly quoted only for the information that Aristotle spoke with a lisp¹¹. The reference belongs to a section on Aristotle's outward appearance, which is inserted into an account of Aristotle's family¹². The origin and transmission of these data remain unclear¹³. The information on Aristotle's son Nicomachus does not seem to be derived from T.¹⁴, but from Timaeus¹⁵. This is shown by a parallel from Timaeus himself¹⁶, as it is by the texture of the whole section in Diogenes¹⁷. As often, it remains uncertain whether the transmitted

⁶ Cf. WILAMOWITZ (1881: 107 n. 9): "aufgedunstenen Leib (wenn das τὸ σῶμα διακεχυμένος IV 4 bedeutet ...); TARÁN (1981: 187) accepting Hick's translation "his body wasted away" which, however, disregards the perfect.

⁷ LEO (1901: 58); for a parallel cf. DIOG. LAERT. 4,16.

⁸ Thus e.g. MENSCHING (1964: 383); TARÁN (1981: 187).

⁹ MÜLLER, FHG IV, p. 523 who does not include the anecdote; WILAMOWITZ (1881: 107 n. 9).

¹⁰ Thus WILAMOWITZ (1881: 107 n. 9); cf., however, MENSCHING (1964: 383 n. 3).

¹¹ On Aristotle's τραυλότητος see PLUT. *De aud. poet.* 8 p. 26 B; *De adul. et amico* 9 p. 53 C; *Vita Hesychii* 1 p. 82 DÜRING. DÜRING (1957: 57; 349) quite plausibly suggests that the motif was transferred to Aristotle from his namesake Aristotle Battus of Cyrene (cf. HERODOT. 4,155).

¹² On Diogenes' introduction of some new information with οὐτος, often taken from a new source, cf. LEO (1901: 140).

¹³ DÜRING (1957: 57) thinks that T. might have been quoted by Hermippus. See, however, GIGON (1958: 151); HERMIPPUS F 44 WEHRLI.

¹⁴ Cf., however, WILAMOWITZ (1881: 107 n. 9), who attributes to T. the whole portrait of Aristotle including the information on his son.

¹⁵ The fragment should be added to Jacoby *FGrHist* 566.

¹⁶ Cf. *FGrHist* 566 F 157.

¹⁷ MÜLLER, FHG I, p. 211; MENSCHING (1964: 383–384).

text is corrupt or whether the wrong name has to be regarded as Diogenes' mistake¹⁸.

(4) That Zenon had a twisted neck is not mentioned elsewhere.

¹⁸ For the sake of clarity I have adopted the correction of MÜLLER, *FHG* I, p. 211, which is not even mentioned in LONG's edition.

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1080 (= 641). Soterichus of Oasis
(2nd half 3rd cent. A.D.)

T

1 (153 F 14 a) SUDA σ 877 s.v. Σωτήριχος, Ὁασίτης, ἐποποιός, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ. Ἐγκάμιον εἰς Διοκλητιανόν, Βασσαρικὰ ἡτοι Διονυσιακὰ βιβλία δ', Τὰ κατὰ Πάνθειαν τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, Τὰ κατὰ Ἀριάδνην, Βίον Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως, Πύθωνα ἢ Ἀλεξανδριακὸν ἔστι δὲ ιστορία
5 Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, ὅτε Θήβας παρέλαβε· καὶ ἄλλα.

2 (153 F 14 b) STEPH. BYZ. s.v. "Ὑασις, πόλις Λιβύης, λέγεται καὶ Ὅασις καὶ ὁ πολίτης Ὅασίτης, ὁ ποιητὴς Σωτήριχος ὁ καὶ τὰ πάτρια γεγραφὼς αὐτοῦ. ὁ πολίτης Υασίτης.

3 (a) TZETZ. SCHOL. LYCOPHR. Alex. 486: τὸ δὲ πλάτος τῆς ιστορίας "Ομηρός
10 φησι· καὶ Σωτήριχος ἐν τοῖς Καλυδωνιακοῖς λέγει. **(b)** TZETZ. Chil. 7,73-74: Σωτήριχος καὶ "Ομηρος καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ μυρίοι || περὶ τοῦ κάπρου μέμνηται τοῦδε τοῦ Καλυδῶνος.

F

ΒΙΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΑΝΕΩΣ

ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΝ

⁵ παρέλαβε *codd.* : κατ- *Daub*

1080 (= 641). Soterichus of Oasis
(2nd half 3rd cent. A.D.)

T

1 Soterichus of Oasis, an epic poet, who flourished under Diocletian. An *Encomium on Diocletian*, four books *Bassarika* or *Dionysiaka*, *The Story of the Babylonian Panthea*, *The Story of Ariadne*, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, *Python* or *Alexandriakos*—it is the history of Alexander of Macedon, when he took Thebes—, and other works.

2 Hyasis, a Libyan city. It is also called Oasis and its citizen Oasites, as is the poet Soterichus, who also wrote its history. The citizen is called Hyasites.

3 (a) The story is told in detail by Homer. And Soterichus speaks about it in his *Calydoniaka*. **(b)** Soterichus, Homer, and numerous others speak about this Calydonian boar.

F

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

ENCOMIUM ON DIOCLETIAN

1080 (= 641). Soterichus of Oasis
 (2nd half 3rd cent. A.D.)

Introduction

Soterichus of Oasis, characterized as an epic poet by the Suda, lived in the late 3rd century A.D. His date depends on his *Encomium on Diocletian*, which was probably a piece of court poetry, inspired by the emperor. Diocletian was in Egypt in A.D. 297/298 in order to crush an Egyptian revolt¹, and this visit might have been a suitable occasion for a local poet to compose an encomium on him, which was perhaps presented in a poetry contest². Of greatest interest for the genre of biography is S.s *Life of Apollonius*. If the Suda is correct in describing S. as a poet, this piece must have been an epic poem, too³. S. probably drew the material for it from one of the existing prose biographies of Apollonius, perhaps even from Philostratus. Its subject, together with the *Encomium on Diocletian*, marks S. most clearly as a pagan author⁴. The life of the pagan “saint” Apollonius formed part of the anti-Christian polemic at that time⁵. It was put to such a use by Hierocles in his Λόγος φιλαλήθης, whom Eusebius attacks in his *Contra Hieroclem*⁶. Apart from S.s work on Apollonius, the Suda gives the titles of several other poems written by him on mythological and historical subjects⁷: a poem on Ariadne, *Dionysiaka* or *Bassarika*—most interesting for the history of the genre, insofar as they precede Nonnus’ great poem⁸; a piece about Panthea, probably based on a famous episode of Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia*, and finally a poem called *Python* or *Alexandriakos*⁹, in which, according to the Suda, S. described Alexander’s sacking of Thebes, and which possibly included some flattering comparison between Alexander and Diocletian. However, the Suda’s list of

works is far from complete. We learn from other sources that S. also composed a piece on the Calydonian boar (T 3) and the Πάτρια of his native city Oasis (T 2)¹⁰. All in all, S. appears as a typical exponent of pagan poetry in Late Antiquity. The subjects of his poems show how blurred the boundary between prose and poetry had become in these times.

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¹⁰ On this poetic genre typical for Late Antiquity cf. SCHMID II 2 (1924: 973), and the examples collected by JACOBY, *FGrHist* 628-640.

¹ Cf. on the political events and the chronology KOLB (1995: 21-31).

² For a short survey of these contests cf. DÖPP (1996: 102-103).

³ Cf. SCHMID II 2 (1924: 673).

⁴ See also CAMERON (1965: 475).

⁵ On the political climate and the literature in general Porphyry’s *Adversus Christianos* belongs to the same period cf. e.g. BARNES (1981: 21-22).

⁶ SCHMID II 2 (1924: 776); HORSFALL (1995: 170-171).

⁷ PAP. ARGENT. 480 (XXII HERITSCH) contains an epic poem about Diocletian. It has been attributed to S. on unconvincing grounds, cf. KEYDELL (1936: 465-467).

⁸ Cf. SCHMID II 2 (1924: 672); HAMMERSTAEDT (1997: 310-311).

⁹ The title, if the transmitted ἥ is correct, is difficult to explain. Python seems to be the famous dragon rather than a person, but it is hard to see how he relates to Alexander’s sack of Thebes.

1081. Agreophon
(3rd cent. A.D.?)

T

I 1 SUDA α 3421 s.v. Ἀπολλώνιος ἔτερος Τυανεύς, φιλόσοφος νεώτερος,
γεγονώς ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς Ἀγρεοφῶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ ὄμωνύμων.

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΩΝΥΜΩΝ

1081. Agreophon
(3rd cent. A.D.?)

T

1 Apollonius of Tyana II, a younger philosopher who lived at the times of
the Emperor Hadrian, as is told by Agreophon in his book *On Namesakes*.

F

ON NAMESAKES

² Ἀγρεοφῶν Bechtel (1894: 45); Ἀγρέσφων *codd.*

1081. Agreophon
(3rd cent. A.D.?)

Introduction

The form of the name “Agreophon” has been rightly restored from the manuscripts’ “Agresphon”, which has no parallel¹. The name is quite rare, though it is attested in Asia Minor and Egypt². A. can be dated roughly to Late Antiquity. He wrote a book *On Namesakes* in which he listed different persons of the same name. It must have been quite similar in kind to the work of Demetrius Magne (1st cent. B.C.), which bears the same name. In fact, it seems rather likely that it was partly based on it. A.s statement that there existed a second philosopher called Apollonius of Tyana is completely without foundation. It probably originated because the chronology of Apollonius’ life had become so uncertain by A.s times that one could think of Apollonius (1064) as two different people³. It suggests that A. lived at least in the late 3rd, if not the 4th cent. A.D.

¹ BECHTEL (1894: 45); for other less plausible emendations see WENTZEL (1893: 891).

² ROBERT (1937: 486); JACOBSTHAL – JONES (1940: 27); PREISIGKE (1922: 7) *s.v.* Αγρεοφῶν.

³ MILLER (1895: 148); cf., however, MEYER II (1924: 190 n. 1).

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—. **Praxagoras of Athens**
(1st half 4th cent. A.D.)

Η ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΜΕΓΑΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ Ἀ-Β

Cf. *FGrHist* 219.

—. **Praxagoras of Athens**
(1st half 4th cent. A.D.)

HISTORY OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT 1-2

Cf. *FGrHist* 219.

—. **Bemarchius of Caesarea**
(1st half 4th cent. A.D.)

ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ Ἄ-Ι

Cf. *FGrHist* 220.

—. **Bemarchius of Caesarea**
(1st half 4th cent. A.D.)

HISTORY OF CONSTANTINE 1-10

Cf. *FGrHist* 220.

—. **Eustochius of Cappadocia**
(4th cent. A.D.)

ΤΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ

Cf. *FGrHist* 738.

—. **Eustochius of Cappadocia**
(4th cent. A.D.)

HISTORY OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANS

Cf. *FGrHist* 738.

—. **Oribasius of Pergamum**
(4th cent. A.D.)

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ?

Cf. *FGrHist* 221.

—. **Oribasius of Pergamum**
(4th cent. A.D.)

HISTORY OF JULIAN?

Cf. *FGrHist* 221.

1082. Aelius Serenus

(2nd half 4th cent. A.D.?)

T

- 1** SUDA σ 249 s.v. Σερῆνος· ὁ καὶ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ Αἴλιος χρηματίσας γραμματικός. Ἐπιτομὴν τῆς Φίλωνος (1060 T 4) πραγματείας Περὶ πόλεων καὶ τίνες ἐφ' ἔκάστης ἔνδοξοι βιβλία γ', Ἐπιτομὴν τῶν Φιλοξένου (p. 11 THEODORIDIS) εἰς "Ομηρον α".
- 5** **2** PHOT. Bibl. 279 p. 536 a 8: ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τεύχει (*sc. ὥσπερ αἱ τοῦ Ἑλλαδίου χρηστομαθεῖαι*) τῷ αὐτῷ περιείχετο μέτρῳ (*sc. τῷ ιαμβικῷ*) καὶ Ἐρμείου Ἐρμουπολίτου (638 T 1) πάτριά της Ἐρμουπόλεως καὶ ἔτερά τινα, καὶ μὴν καὶ Σερήνου γραμματικοῦ ἐν διαφόροις μέτροις δράματα διάφορα.

F

ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ ΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΩΝΟΣ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΙΑΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ
ΤΙΝΕΣ ΕΦ' ΕΚΑΣΤΗΣ ΕΝΔΟΞΟΙ Ά - Γ

1-2 Cf. 1060. PHILO F 17-18.

¹ ὁ καὶ ... χρηματίσας *A* : ὁ Αἴλιος, ὁ καὶ Ἀθηναῖος *Eudoc.* : ὁ καὶ Αἴλιος χρηματίσας, Ἀθηναῖος *Bernhardy* ³ ἐφ' *codd.* : ἀφ' *Bernhardy*

1082. Aelius Serenus

(2nd half 4th cent. A.D.?)

T

1 Aelius Serenus, who is also called Athenaeus, antiquarian. An *Epitome of Philo's Treatise On Cities and Their Famous Citizens* in three books, an *Epitome of Philoxenus' Work on Homer* in one book.

2 In the same volume (*sc. as Helladius' Chrestomathiae*) are included, written in the same metre (*sc. in the iambic trimeter*), the *Local History of Hermopolis* and other works of Hermias of Hermopolis, and also several dramatic poems of the antiquarian Serenus, which are composed in various metres (...).

F

EPITOME OF PHILO'S TREATISE ABOUT CITIES AND
THEIR FAMOUS CITIZENS 1-3

1-2 Cf. 1060. PHILO F 17-18.

1082. Aelius Serenus
(2nd half 4th cent. A.D.?)

Introduction

The antiquarian Aelius Serenus lived at the earliest in the 2nd century A.D.¹ A certain *terminus post quem* is provided by Philo (1060), whose books he epitomized, a *terminus ante quem* by Orus, who seems to have used S.s epitomes². If he is identical with the antiquarian and poet S. mentioned by Photius (T 2)³, he most probably belongs to the 2nd half of the 4th century⁴. Apart from his epitome of Philo, S. epitomized Philoxenus' work on Homeric glosses⁵. There are also several pieces of the *Apomnemoneumata* of a certain S. in Stobaeus⁶. He is listed among the philosophers by Photius in his description of Stobaeus' work⁷, but this may simply be inferred from the philosophical content of S.s *Apomnemoneumata*. It is hard to tell whether this S. is the antiquarian or some other unknown author⁸. As a compilation, the philosophical anthology is similar to the other epitomes. The possibility that it belongs to the antiquarian S. should therefore not be excluded either.

Commentary on the Testimonies

(1) The article of the Suda raises some problems. As the text stands, Ἀθήναιος seems to denote another name for S. rather than his birthplace Athens, as is generally assumed⁹. There might, however, be some corruption. If S. is thought to be from Athens, an identification with the poet mentioned by Photius (T 2) becomes difficult, because the poet seems to have lived in Egypt.

¹ Cf. THEODORIDIS (1976: 11), who dates him to this century.

² Cf. REITZENSTEIN (1897: 326); on the date of Orus see ALPERS (1981: 88-91).

³ Cf. VON ROHDEN (1893: 532); CLASSEN (1975: 1571) remains sceptical.

⁴ See on T 2 and KASTER (1988: 354-355), who rejects the identification.

⁵ Cf. THEODORIDIS (1976: 11).

⁶ STOB. *Flor.* 2,1,22; 2,2,17; 2,31,114; 2,31,116; 3,5,36-39; 3,6,17-20?; 3,7,60-61?; 3,7,62; 3,11,23; 3,13,48-49; 3,13,58; 3,29,96; 3,39,27-30; 4,2,26; 4,6,20; 4,19,48; 4,22f,134; 4,24a,11.

⁷ Cf. PHOT. *Bibl.* 167 p. 114 b 18.

⁸ The latter solution was adopted by VON ROHDEN (1893: 532); VON ARNIM (1923: 1674-1675).

⁹ Cf. e.g. SCHMID II 2 (1924: 686).

(2) S. is mentioned together with several poets and antiquarians (Helladius, Hermias of Hermopolis, Horapollon, Phoebammon of Κυνῶν πόλις, and Cyrus of Antacopolis), whose works Photius found in the same volume¹⁰. All are from Egypt, and most of them can be securely dated to the 2nd half of the 4th century. Since the volume seems to have contained authors of the same period and region, it is very likely that S. lived in the same epoch and also came from Egypt¹¹. Furthermore, Photius tells us that S. wrote δράματα. These were probably poetic pieces in the form of dialogues¹².

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¹⁰ Cf. HAMMERSTAEDT (1997: 105-116).

¹¹ See HAMMERSTAEDT (1997: 109; 116)

¹² Cf. HAMMERSTAEDT (1997: 109-110).

1083. Marinus
(2nd half 5th cent. A.D.)

T

1 SUDA μ 198 s.v. Μαρίνος, Νεαπολίτης, φιλόσοφος καὶ ρήτωρ, μαθητὴς Πρόκλου τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ διάδοχος. ἔγραψε βίον Πρόκλου τοῦ αὐτοῦ διδασκάλου καὶ καταλογάδην καὶ ἐπικῶς· καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ φιλοσόφων ζητήματα.

2 PHOT. *Bibl.* 242 p. 345 b 18 (= DAM. *Vita Isid.* p. 196-197 ZINTZEN): ὅτι ὁ διάδοχος Πρόκλου, φησίν (*sc. Δαμάσκιος*), ὁ Μαρίνος, γένος ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Νέας πόλεως, πρὸς ὅρει κατωκισμένης τῷ Ἀργαρίζῳ καλουμένῳ. εἴτα βλασphemῶν ὁ δυσσεβής φησιν ὁ συγγραφεύς, ἐν φὶ Διὸς ύψιστου ἀγιώτατον ιερόν, φὶ καθιέρωτο "Αβραμός ὁ τῶν πάλαι Ἐβραίων πρόγονος, ὃς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὁ Μαρίνος. Σαμαρείτης οὖν τὸ ἀπ' ὀρχῆς ὁ Μαρίνος γεγονὼς ἀπετάξατο μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων δόξαν, ἄτε εἰς καινοτομίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀβράμου θρησκείας ἀπορρεύσαν, τὰ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἡγάπησεν. (142) ὅμως φιλοπονίᾳ τε καὶ ἀτρύτοις πόνοις ἐγκείμενος εὐνθεστέρων ἥδη πολλῶν καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων κατέχωσε δόξας τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ὄνόματι ὁ Μαρίνος. (143) οὐκ εἴα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐρωτᾶν ὁ Ἰσιδώρος ἀσθενείᾳ σώματος ἐνοχλούμενον, εὐλαβείᾳ τοῦ ὀχλώδους. (144) πλὴν ὁ Μαρίνος ἐξ ὧν τε διελέγετο καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἔγραψεν – ὀλίγα δὲ ταῦτα ἔστι – δῆλος ἦν οὐ βαθεῖαν αὔλακα τῶν νοημάτων καρπούμενος, ἐξ ὧν τὰ σοφὰ βλαστάνει θεάματα τῆς τῶν ὄντων φύσεως.

3 (a) PHOT. *Bibl.* 242 p. 338 a 19 (= DAM. *Vita Isid.* p. 66 ZINTZEN): Μαρίνος δὲ ὁ Πρόκλου διάδοχος, ὁ καὶ Ἰσιδώρου μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους λόγων διδάσκαλος, ὑπόμνημα πολύστιχον εἰς Φίληβον συντάξας τοῦ Πλάτωνος, οὗτος τῷ Ἰσιδώρῳ ἐντυχεῖν τε τῷ ὑπομνήματι κελεύει καὶ ἐπικρῖναι, εἰ ἔξοιστέον. ὁ δὲ ἀναγνοὺς οὐδὲν ἀπεκρύψατο τῶν αὐτῷ δοκούντων, οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἀμουσον ἀφῆκε φωνήν, τοσοῦτον δὲ μόνον ἔφη, ἵκανά εἶναι τὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου. ὁ δὲ Μαρίνος συνεὶς πυρὶ διέφθειρε τὸ βιβλίον. (b) SUDA μ 199 s.v. Μαρίνος: (~ 3 a). ἥδη δὲ καὶ πρότερον δι· ἐπιστολῆς ἐκοινώσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν τῶν εἰς Παρμενίδην

¹² τῶν *fort. delendum* ²⁵⁻³⁵ ἥδη ... Μαρίνου ἐσομένων, cf. Dam. *Vita Isid.* F 245 Zintzen

²⁶ δόξαν *codd.* : δόξαν περὶ Küster

1083. Marinus
(2nd half 5th century A.D.)

T

1 Marinus of Neapolis, a philosopher and orator, pupil and successor of Proclus. He wrote a *Life of Proclus*, his teacher, both in prose and verse, and some other philosophical treatises.

2 He (*sc. Damascius*) says that the family of Marinus, Proclus' successor, came from Neapolis in Palestine, founded near the mountain called Argarizus. The impious author then blasphemously adds that there is on this mountain a very holy temple of the highest Jupiter, whose priest was Abraham, the ancestor of the Jews of old, as Marinus himself said. Although Marinus was a Samaritan by origin, he renounced their faith, because they had abandoned the religion of Abraham for strange new beliefs, and became a pagan. (142) Nevertheless, through his industry and his persistent studies Marinus eclipsed by his name the glory of many who were of better birth and more dignified. (143) Isidorus forbade him to be questioned, because he suffered from infirmity, fearing that he should be disturbed. (144) But from what he said and wrote—which is not much—it appeared that he did not harvest from a deep furrow of thoughts, out of which wise insights into the nature of things spring up.

3 (a) When Marinus, the successor of Proclus, who instructed Isidorus amongst others in Aristotle's philosophy, had written a long commentary on Plato's *Philebus*, he asked Isidorus to read it and to give his opinion as to whether it should be published. When Isidorus had read it, he did not hide his opinion. However, he did not use any impolite words, but only said that their teacher's commentary on the dialogue would be sufficient. Marinus understood, and burnt the book. (b) On an earlier occasion, Marinus had already communicated to him his opinion on the *hypotheseis* and the narrative

ύποθέσεών τε καὶ ἐξηγήσεων· τά τε ἐπιχειρήματα συντάξας ἔπειμψεν, οἵς
έπεισθη μὴ εἶναι τὸν διάλογον περὶ θεῶν ὁ Μαρῖνος, ἀλλὰ περὶ εἰδῶν. ἐφ' ὃ
καὶ ὑπομνήματα κατεβάλετο τοῦτον ἐξηγούμενα τὸν τρόπον τὰς Παρμενίδου
30 διαλεκτικὰς ύποθέσεις. ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ἀντιγράφει τὴν ἐπιστολὴν,
μυρίαις ὅσαις ἀποδείξεσι καταβαλόμενος ἀληθεστάτην εἶναι τὴν θειοτέραν
ἐξήγησιν τοῦ διαλόγου, ὥστε εἰ μὴ ἐφθῇ τὸ βιβλίον ἐκδεδομένον, τάχα ἂν καὶ
τοῦτο διέφθειρεν. Ἰσως δὲ αὐτὸν διεκώλυσε καὶ ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου, ὅτι
θεάσασθαι ποτε ἔλεγεν ὁ Πρόκλος, ὡς ὑπομνημάτων εἰς Παρμενίδην αὐτοῦ
35 Μαρίνου ἐσομένων.

F

ΒΙΟΣ ΠΡΟΚΛΟΥ

of the *Parmenides* by a letter. Marinus had sent him his collected arguments, which had led him to the conclusion that the dialogue was not about the gods but the ideas. Upon this view he had also composed a commentary, which explained the dialectical *hypothesis* of the *Parmenides* in this manner. But Isidorus answered to this letter, putting forward innumerable arguments that the theological interpretation of the dialogue was the closest to the truth so that he would possibly have burnt this book as well, if it had not already been published. But perhaps he was also prevented by a dream, which Proclus said he had once had, that Marinus himself would write a commentary on the *Parmenides*.

F

LIFE OF PROCLUS

1083. Marinus
(2nd half 5th century A.D.)

Introduction

The Neo-Platonic philosopher Marinus¹ was born about A.D. 440 in Neapolis in Palestine. Originally of Samaritan faith, he abandoned his beliefs at some stage and became a pagan. He seems to have moved to Athens in about 460, where he entered the Academy and became the disciple of Proclus. Being one of the Academy's teachers, he succeeded Proclus as head of the institution in 485. His succession can hardly be called smooth. Because of his Peripatetic inclinations, M. had to face the opposition of a rival group, who favoured the more orthodox Platonist Isidorus. Nevertheless, M. held the chair for some years, before conceding it to Isidorus for reasons of infirmity. The exact time of M.s death remains uncertain. Since our knowledge about him depends on Isidorus' friend Damascius², M.s image suffers from a bad press. In Damascius' eyes the "Peripatetic" M. was a shallow thinker³. Apart from several commentaries on Plato, Aristotle and Euclid⁴, M. wrote a *Life of Proclus* both in prose and verse after his teacher had died⁵. Similarly Porphyry had composed a *Life of Plotin*, and afterwards Damascius composed a *Life of Isidorus*. Whereas the prose version—a sort of encomiastic speech or hymn—is still extant, no trace survives of the poem. Its content and arrangement were probably quite similar to the biography in prose, in which the different stages of virtue are made to correspond to the different phases of Proclus' life. It might have inspired Christodorus' biographical poem *On Proclus' Disciples* (1084).

¹ On Marinus' life in general see SCHISSEL (1930: 1759-1761); SAMBURSKY (1985: 14-20); MASULLO (1985: 15-20). I have only given the most important testimonies. For further references cf. the following notes.

² Cf. SAMBURSKY (1985: 14); apart from T 2-3 see DAM. *Vita Isid.* F 241-248; 256; 261; 266; 268; 277; 361 ZINTZEN.

³ Cf. T 2; SCHISSEL (1930: 1760); Damascius' verdict was adopted by SCHMID II 2 (1924: 1062): "mittelmäßiger Kopf".

⁴ On M.s commentaries on Plato's *Philebus* and *Parmenides* cf. T 2-3; SCHISSEL (1930: 1766); DÖRRIE III (1993: 196-198); on his commentaries on Aristotle's *Analytica priora* and *De anima* cf. SCHISSEL (1930: 1764); DÖRRIE III (1993: 263; 345); on his commentary to Euclid's *Data*, of which the introduction (cf. Euclidis opera VI, p. 234-257) is still extant, cf. SCHISSEL (1930: 1761-1764); DÖRRIE III (1993: 278).

⁵ Cf. SCHISSEL (1930: 1764-1766); SAMBURSKY (1985: 19); DÖRRIE III (1993: 348); HAMMERSTAEDT (1997: 308).

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1084. (= 283). Christodorus of Coptus
(5th -6th cent. A.D.)

T

1 SUDA χ 525 s.v. Χριστόδωρος, Πανίσκου, ἀπὸ Κοπτοῦ πόλεως τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἐποποίος. ἥκμαζεν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀναστασίου βασιλέως χρόνων. ἔγραψεν Ἰσαυρικὰ ἐν βιβλίοις ἕξ· ἔχει δὲ τὴν Ἰσαυρίας ἄλωσιν τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀναστασίου τοῦ βασιλέως γενομένην· Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπικῶς βιβλία ἑβ', Πάτρια Θεσσαλονίκης ἐπικῶς βιβλία κε', Πάτρια Νάκλης· ἔστι δὲ πόλις περὶ Ἡλιούπολιν, ἐν ᾧ τὰ καλούμενα "Αφακα· Πάτρια Μιλήτου τῆς Ιωνίας, Πάτρια Τράλλεων, Πάτρια Ἀφροδισιάδος, "Εκφρασιν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ζευξίππῳ ἀγαλμάτων· καὶ ἄλλα πολλά.

Uncertain Testimony

2 SUDA χ 526 s.v. Χριστόδωρος, Θηβαῖος, ἰλλούστριος. ἔγραψεν Ἱέσυτικὰ δι'
10 ἐπῶν· καὶ θαύματα τῶν ἀγίων Ἀναργύρων, Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ.

F

ΛΥΔΙΑΚΑ

1 SCHOL. (A) HOM. B 461, II p. 280,90-93 ERBSE (= S 8,1 HEITSCH, II p. 48):
"Ασιος νίδις Κότυνος καὶ Μυιοῦν, Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς, ὃς φησι Χριστόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Λυδιακοῖς: "Κότυνς λευκώλενον ἄλλην || ἥγετο κουριδίην
ομοδέμνιον, οὕνομα Μυιοῦν· || ή δ' "Ασιον τέκε κοῦρον."

1084. (= 283). Christodorus of Coptus
(5th -6th cent. A.D.)

T

1 Christodorus, son of Paniscus, from the city of Coptus in Egypt, epic poet. He flourished at the time of the Emperor Anastasius. He wrote an *Isaurian History* in six books containing the capture of Isauria by the Emperor Anastasius, an *Ancient History of Constantinople* in verse in twelve books, an *Ancient History of Thessaloniki* in verse in twenty-five books, an *Ancient History of Nacle*—that is a city near Heliopolis, in which are the so-called *Aphaka*—, an *Ancient History of Miletus in Ionia*, an *Ancient History of Tralleis*, an *Ancient History of Aphrodisias*, a *Description of the Statues in the Bath of Zeuxippus*, and many other works.

Uncertain Testimony

2 Christodorus Illustrius of Thebes. He wrote *Ixeutica* in verse, and *Miracles of the Incorrumpible Saints Cosmas and Damian*.

F

HISTORY OF LYDIA

1 Asius is the son of Cotys and Myio, king of the Lydians, as Christodorus says in his *History of Lydia*: "Cotys took another white-armed wife to share his bed, called Myio. And she gave birth to the boy Asius."

⁷ Ζευξίππῳ 4^τ: -ou Daub

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΚΡΟΑΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΠΡΟΚΛΟΥ

- 15 **2** LYD. *Mag.* 3,26 (= S 8,2 Heitsch, *ibid.*): Ἀγάπιος ἦν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, περὶ οὐν Χριστόδωρος ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Ἀκροατῶν τοῦ μεγάλου Πρόκλου μονοβίβλῳ φησὶν οὕτως: “Ἀγάπιος πύματος μέν, ἀτὰρ πρώτιστος ἀπάντων.”

¹⁷ φησὶν *P²* *edd.* : εφησὶν *P*

ON THE DISCIPLES OF THE GREAT PROCLUS

2 It was Agapius at that time, about whom the poet Christodorus writes in his one-volume work *On the Disciples of the Great Proclus*: “Agapius, though last, is the first of all.”

1084 (= 283). Christodorus of Coptus

(5th 6th cent. A.D.)

Introduction

Christodorus of Coptus, epic poet in the style of Nonnus¹, dates to the reign of Anastasius (A.D. 491-518), whose capture of Isauria he also described in a poem (T 1). It seems quite likely that he lived in Constantinople at the Imperial court². He is perhaps to be identified with the poet Ch. Illustrius of Thebes (T 2), who, however, is listed as a different person by the Suda³. His extensive oeuvre, which apart from a *Description of the Statues in the Bath of Zeuxippus*⁴ and two epigrams on his patron Ioannes is completely lost⁵, seems to have consisted mainly of historical poems on cities (*Patria*), but also included a biographical poem *On the Disciples of Proclus* in one volume (F 2)⁶. It is difficult to tell what it was like. As the extant fragment, in which Agapius is mentioned, suggests, it probably contained short sketches of the life of each disciple. Unfortunately Marinus' biographical poem on Proclus (1083), which would have provided the closest parallel, is also lost. In view of the content, Ch. might well have been inspired by it. An earlier example of biographical poetry is provided by Soterichus' *Life of Apollonius* (1080).

¹ See on him BAUMGARTEN (1899: 2450-2452); FRIEDLÄNDER (1912: 94); SCHMID II 2 (1924: 961); JACOBY's introduction on *FGrHist* 283, p. 367; HAMMERSTAEDT (1997: 311).

² Cf. JACOBY loc. cit.

³ Cf. BAUMGARTEN (1899: 2450-2451); JACOBY loc. cit.

⁴ About 400 verses of it are preserved in the second book of the Greek Anthology. The beginning and the end is missing, cf. on it especially BAUMGARTEN (1881); STUPPERICH (1982: 210-235).

⁵ ANTH. GR. 7,697-698. Ioannes (cos. A.D. 500) was prefect of Illyria. In addition, PAP. GR. VINDOB. 29877 C (= XXXV [PAMPREPIUS?] HEITSCH) has been attributed to Ch. by VILJAMAA (1968: 54-57). Pamprepius, however, seems to be a better candidate, cf. McCAIL (1978: 38-63).

⁶ SCHMID II 2 (1924: 961); DÖRRIE III (1993: 348); HAMMERSTAEDT (1997: 308).

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Appendix: Encomiastic and Panegyrical Speeches

1085 (= 147). Potamon of Mytilene

(c. 75 B.C.-A.D. 15)

T

- 1** (*FHG* III, p. 505) (**a**) *SUDA* π 2127 s.v. Ποτάμων, Μιτυληναῖος, νιός Λεσβώνακτος, ρήτωρ. ἐσοφίστευσεν ἐν Ἱώμῃ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος Τιβερίου. καὶ ποτε αὐτοῦ ἐξ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπανιόντος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφοδιάζει τοιοῖσδε γράμμασι· “Ποτάμωνα Λεσβώνακτος εἴ τις ἀδικεῖν τολμήσοι, σκεψάσθω εἰ 5 μοι δυνήσεται πολεμεῖν.” ἔγραψε Περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Μακεδόνος: “Ωρους Σαμίων, Βρούτου ἐγκώμιον, Καίσαρος ἐγκώμιον, Περὶ τελείου ρήτορος.
- (**b**) *SUDA* λ 307 s.v. Λεσβώναξ, Μιτυληναῖος, φιλόσοφος, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ Αύγουστου, πατὴρ Ποτάμωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου. ἔγραψε πλείστα φιλόσοφα.

- 2** STRAB. *Geogr.* 13,2,3 p. 617 C.: καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ (sc. ἐγένοντο ἐκ Μυτιλήνης)
10 Ποτάμων καὶ Λεσβοκλῆς καὶ Κριναγόρας καὶ ὁ συγγραφεὺς Θεοφάνης (188
T 1).

- 3** *SUDA* θ 151 s.v. Θεόδωρος, Γαδαρεύς, σοφιστής, ἀπὸ δούλων, διδάσκαλος γεγονὼς Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεκρίθη περὶ σοφιστικῆς ἀγωνισάμενος Ποτάμωνι καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἱώμῃ (...).

- 4** SEN. *Suas.* 2,15-16: Potamon magnus declamator fuit Mitylenis, qui eodem tempore viguit, quo Lesbocles, magni nominis et nomini respondentis ingenii. in quibus quanta fuerit animorum diversitas in simili fortuna, puto vobis indicandum, multo magis quia ad vitam pertinet, quam si ad eloquentiam pertineret. utrique filius eisdem diebus decessit: Lesbocles scholam solvit, nemo umquam amplius <declamantem audivit; maiore>

² ὃς post ρήτωρ add. Daub ⁴ ἀδικεῖν A : -ῆσαι V ⁵ “Ωρους Müller, *FHG* III, p. 505: “Ορους codd. ¹⁵ Mitylenis D : moyl- ABV ¹⁶ Lesbocles BV : lesbodes A || nomini AV : -is B ¹⁸ vobis V: obis AB (corr. B²) || indicandum V: indicam dum AB (corr. B²) || quam si B²τ : quasi ABV ¹⁹ eloquentiam V: -a AB (corr. B²) ²⁰ declamantem ... maiore suppl. Winterbottom *praeceuntibus* Madvig et Mueller

Appendix: Encomiastic and Panegyrical Speeches

1085 (= 147). Potamon of Mytilene

(c. 75 B.C. A.D. 15)

T

- 1 (a)** Potamon of Mytilene, son of Lesbonax, rhetorician. He taught rhetoric at Rome under the Emperor Tiberius. And when he returned once to his native country, the Emperor provided him with such a letter: “Whosoever should dare to do harm to Potamon, son of Lesbonax, shall consider, whether he will be able to make war with me.” He wrote *On Alexander of Macedonia, Samian Annals*, an *Encomium of Brutus*, an *Encomium of Caesar, On the Perfect Orator*. (**b**) Lesbonax of Mytilene, philosopher, flourished under Augustus, father of Potamon, the philosopher. He wrote very many philosophical works.

- 2** At my time there were from Mytilene Potamon, Lesbocles, Crinagoras and the historian Theophanes.

- 3** Theodorus of Gadara, sophist, son of slaves. He was teacher of the Emperor Tiberius, after he had won a contest in rhetoric against Potamon and Antipater in Rome.

- 4** Potamon was a great orator at Mytilene, flourishing at the same time as Lesbocles, very famous and with talents corresponding to his fame. I should tell you, I think, how much their behaviour differed in the same circumstances, the more so because it pertains to life rather than to eloquence. Both lost a son at the same time. Lesbocles shut down his school, and nobody

animo se gessit Potamon, a funere filii contulit se in scholam et declamavit. utriusque tamen adfectum temperandum puto: hic durius tulit fortunam quam patrem decebat, ille mollius <quam> virum. (16) Potamon cum suasoriam de trecentis diceret, tractabat, quam turpiter fecissent Lacones 25 hoc ipsum, quod deliberassent de fuga (...).

4A (= F 1) PLUT. Alex. 61: λέγεται δὲ (sc. Ἀλέξανδρος) καὶ κύνα Περίταν ὄνομα τεθραμμένον ύπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ στεργόμενον ἀποβαλὼν κτίσαι πόλιν ἐπώνυμον. τοῦτο δὲ Σωτίων φησὶ Ποτάμωνος ἀκούσαι τοῦ Λεσβίου.

5 [LUCIAN.] Macrob. 23: Ποτάμων δὲ οὐκ ἄδοξος ρήτωρ ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα (sc. 30 ἔζησεν).

6 (a) IG XII 2,35 col. a 1-14: [Γράμματα Καίσαρος θεοῦ. Γάϊος Ιούλιος Καίσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ --- τὸ] δε[ύτε]ρον Μυτι[ληναίων ἄρχοντι] βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν· εἰ ἔρρωσθε, καλῶς ἀν] ἔχοι· κάγὼ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὑγίαινον. Ποτάμων Λεσβώνακτος, ---]καφένους, Κριναγόρας Καλλίπ[που, Ζ]ωϊλο[ς Ἐπιγένους --- Σω]τᾶς Δικαίου, Υβρίας Διοφάντου, Ίστιαίος [--- Δημήτ]ριος Τιμαίου, οἱ πρεσβευταὶ ύμῶν συνέ[τυχον μοι --- καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα ύμῶν ἀπέ]δωκαν καὶ περὶ τῶν τιμῶν διελέχθησαν [---]ν κατωρθώκαμεν, καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντες [--- ἐνέ]τυχον μετὰ πολλῆς φιλοτιμίας καὶ εἰς [---]ων ἔχειν. ἔγὼ δὲ τούς τε ἄνδρας ἐπήνε[σα διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτῶν καὶ φιλοφρόν]ως ἀπεδεξάμην, ἡδέως τε τὴν πόλιν [ύμῶν εὐεργετεῖν πειράσομαι καὶ κατὰ τ]οὺς παρόντας καιροὺς καὶ ἐν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦ[τα χρόνοις ---]αν ἐπιστάμενος ἦν ἔχοντες εὔνοι[αν ---] τὸν Ποτάμωνα. **(b)** IG XII 2,35 col. b 14-26 (= Syll.³ 764): [περὶ ὧν π]ρεσβευταὶ Μυτιληναίων Ποτάμων Λεσβώνακτος, Φαινίας Φαινίου τοῦ Καλλί[που, Τ]έρφηος Διούς, Ἡρώδης 45 Κλέωνος, Διῆς Ματροκλέους, Δημήτριος Κλεωνύμου, Κριναγόρας Καλλίππου, Ζωϊλος Ἐπιγένους λόγους ἐποιήσαντο, χάριτα φιλίαν συμμαχίαν ἀνενεούντο, ἵνα τε ἐν Καπετωλίῳ θυσ[ι]αν ποιήσαι ἔξηι, ἢ τε αὐτοῖς πρότερον ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου συγκεχωρημ[έ]να ἦν, ταῦτα ἐν δέλτωι χαλκῆι γεγραμμένα προσηλῶσαι ἵνα ἔξηι· περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος οὕτως ἔδοξεν·

²¹ se gessit *V*: regressit *A*: regessitur *B*: -cessitur *B²* || Potamon *B²*: post amen *AB*: post tamen *V* || contulit se *V*: contulisse *AB* (*corr. B²*) ²³ decebat *B²V²* : di- *ABV* || quam *suppl. Bursian* || virum *AB*: verum *V* || Potamon *V*: -ni *AB* (*corr. A²B²*) ²⁴ diceret *V²* : -ere *ABV* ⁴⁷ ἀνενεούντο *perperam pro* ἀνανεώσασθαι *incisum cens. Mommsen, sed cf. Dittenberger ad loc.*

heard him declaiming afterwards. Potamon showed more heart. From his son's funeral he went back to his school straight away and delivered a declamation. Nevertheless, I think, both behaved a bit too extremely. Potamon bore his loss too impassively for a father, Lesboles too softly for a man. (16) When Potamon delivered a *suasoria* about the Three Hundred, he discoursed on how ignominiously the Spartans behaved in only considering flight.

4A It is also told that, when he (*sc. Alexander*) had lost his dog Peritas, whom he had brought up and loved dearly, he founded a city with its name. Sotion claims to have heard this from Potamon of Lesbus.

5 Potamon, a rhetorician of some renown, lived ninety years.

6 (a) A letter of the divine Caesar. C. Julius Caesar, Emperor, [---] for the second time, greets the magistrates, the council and the people of Mytilene. If you are well, it is fine. I too, along with the army, am in good health. Potamon, son of Lesbonax, [---], Crinagoras, son of Callippus, Zoilus, son of Epigenes, [---], Sotas, son of Dicaeus, Hybrias, son of Diophantes, Histiaeus [---], Demetrius, son of Timaeus, your ambassadors met me [---] and gave me your decree, and spoke to me about the honours, [---] our success, and they bestowed favours [---] and met me with much kindness [---]. But I commended the men because of their efforts and received them in friendship, and I will try to perform good services for your city now and in future [---] knowing their goodwill [---] Potamon. **(b)** As regards the petition of the Mytilenean ambassadors Potamon, son of Lesbonax, Phaenias, son of Phaenias, son of Callippus, Terpheus, son of Dies, Herodes, son of Cleon, Dies, son of Matrocles, Demetrius, son of Cleonymus, Crinagoras, son of Callippus, Zoilus, son of Epigenes, to renew favour, friendship and military alliance, to be permitted to offer sacrifices on the Capitol hill, and to be permitted to write down in bronze tablets and to display publicly the privileges granted to them earlier on by the senate: In this matter the following has been decreed: to renew favour, friendship and military alliance, and to

- 50 χάριτα φιλίαν συμμαχίαν ἀνανεώσασθαι, ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ φίλους προσαγορεῦσαι, ἐν Καπετωλίῳ θυσίαν ποιῆσαι ἔξειναι, ἡ τε αὐτοῖς πρότερον ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου φιλάνθρωπα συγκεχωρημένα ἦν, ταῦτα ἐν δέλτῳ χαλκῆι γεγραμμένα προσηλῶσαι ἔξειναι, ὅταν θέλωσιν ἵνα τε Γάϊος Καΐσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἐὰν αὐτῷ φαίνηται, τόπους χορήγια αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ τῶν προγόνων ἔθος ταμίαν μισθώσαι κελεύσηι οὗτοις, ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων πίστεως τῆς ιδίας φαίνηται. ἔδοξεν. (c) *IG XII SUPPL.* 7: [τὸ κοῖνον τὸ Λ]εσβίων [Ποτάμων Λεσβώνακτος] τὸν ἀπύγονον Πενθίλω τῷ [β]ασίλεος [Αἰολέων] (...). (d) *IG XII* 2,154: [Ποτάμων Λεσβώνακτος ὁ διὰ [βίου ιερεὺς ---] Θεῶ Σεβαστῷ [Κ]αίσα[ρ]ι. (e) *IG XII* 2,163 (= *Syll.*³ 60 754): Ποτάμωνι Λεσβώνακτο[ς] τῷ εὐεργέτᾳ καὶ σωτῆρος καὶ κτιστᾷ τᾶ[ς] πόλιο[ς]. (f) *IG XII* 2,272: Ποτάμωνος τῷ Λεσβώνακτος προεδρία.

F

ΒΡΟΥΤΟΥ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ

ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ

ΩΡΟΙ ΣΑΜΙΩΝ. ΠΕΡΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΟΣ

call them good men and friends, to give them permission to sacrifice on the Capitol hill and to write down and display publicly the privileges granted to them earlier by the senate, if they so desire. And that the Emperor C. Julius Caesar, if it is his will, advises the quaestor to let out lodgings and equipment to them in accordance with the ancestral custom in such a way as he thinks fit from the public affairs and his own authority. It has been decreed. (c) [The state of the] Lesbians to [Potamon, son of Lesbonax], descendant of Pentillus, the king of the [Aeolians]. (d) Potamon, son of Lesbonax, [priest for life ---] of the divine Caesar. (e) For Potamon, son of Lesbonax, the benefactor, saviour, and founder of the city. (f) Proedria of Potamon, son of Lesbonax.

F

ENCOMIUM ON BRUTUS

ENCOMIUM ON CAESAR

SAMIAN ANNALS. ON ALEXANDER THE GREAT

1085 (= 147). Potamon of Mytilene

(c. 75 B.C.–A.D. 15)

Introduction

The orator Potamon of Mytilene¹, son of Lesbonax, enters into history shortly after the Battle of Pharsalus (48 B.C.) when he undertook an embassy, together with the famous Lesbian poet Crinagoras, to C. Julius Caesar, the new emperor of the world, on behalf of his home city (T 6). The mission was difficult, since Mytilene had always been on good terms with Pompey, but the ambassadors mastered their task with success and obtained Caesar's good will. It seems to have been the first in a series of embassies P. undertook for his native city. As a member of the local aristocracy—he seems to have claimed descent from the Aeolian king Pentillus (T 6 c)—he mediated between Mytilene and the emperor on subsequent occasions as well². P.'s ties with the Julio-Claudian dynasty also lasted through the subsequent Civil War. When the cult of Augustus was established in his native city after 29 B.C.³, P. seems to have become its first priest (T 6 d). It may have been about the same time that he competed with Theodorus of Gadara to become Tiberius' teacher (T 3). Although he lost the contest, his relations with the future emperor remained good. As the Suda tells us, Tiberius provided him with a letter of protection when he finally returned to Lesbos (T 1). There he is said to have died at the age of ninety (T 5). All our chronological information is reasonably consistent if we put P.'s time of life at 75 B.C.–A.D. 15, since at the time of the first embassy he was probably about twenty years old. Within the Mytilenean community P. enjoyed the highest social prestige. This is shown not only by the embassies he undertook at such a young age, but also by his offices and the many honours he was awarded by his citizens. The most remarkable of several monuments is the so-called Potamoneion, a large honorary monument which was erected for him on the acropolis of Mytilene (T 6). After

¹ Cf. on P. in general CICHORIUS (1888: 62–64); SUSEMHL II (1892: 512–515); STEGEMANN (1953: 1023–1027); PARKER (1991: 115–129); QUASS (1993: 143).

² He is listed amongst the envoys of Mytilene in a decree of the senate dating to 45 B.C. (T 6 b); and probably took part in an embassy to Augustus in 26/5 B.C., cf. *IG XII* 35 col. b 36–d. Although his name does not appear in the inscription, P. must have been connected in some way with the diplomatic events, since the inscription belongs to his honorary monument. Cf. also PARKER (1991: 117–118).

³ OGIS 456; PRICE (1984: 55–57; 217–219); PARKER (1991: 119).

P.'s death his family retained its fame for many generations. P.'s son C. Claudius Diaphenes became chief-priest for life-time of the cult of Augustus and Roma, and several other members of P.'s family until the 3rd century A.D. are known to us⁴. However, P. was not only a politician, but also a man of letters, as the anecdotes preserved by Seneca the Elder (T 4) and the Suda (T 1) make sufficiently clear. In fact, he seems to have combined both professions on occasion, as the titles of two encomiastic speeches on Caesar and Brutus suggest⁵. If the first was on Julius Caesar—one could also think of Augustus—the first of P.'s embassies to Caesar after the battle of Pharsalus would seem to provide the most suitable context for such a composition (T 6 a)⁶. P. might indeed have tried to encourage the emperor to be favourable to Mytilene's requests by a nice speech on his greatness and *clementia*. The encomium on Brutus is perhaps best placed in 47 B.C., when Brutus stayed with Marcellus in Mytilene⁷. It seems quite natural that P. paid a visit to this Roman *nobilis*, who was interested in Greek scholarship⁸. Amongst P.'s historical writings the Suda also lists a work *On Alexander*. We have no other evidence of it, so it is difficult to tell what sort of a work it was. Since P. seems to have declaimed on Alexander (T 4A), it was perhaps a speech⁹. In view of the times in which it was written, it might have contained some political allusion, though this can not of course be proven.

⁴ On P.'s family see PARKER (1991: 121–129), who discusses the evidence.

⁵ The combination of titles by the Suda should not mislead us to regard the speeches as a *disputatio in utramque partem*. P.'s career and the political content of the speeches do not fit such a type of rhetorical *lusus*, as one would perhaps expect in an author of the Second Sophistic. Cf., however, WACHSMUTH *apud* CICHORIUS (1888: 64 n. 1) and PERNOT II (1993: 531–532).

⁶ STEGEMANN (1953: 1027); PARKER (1991: 116 n. 6).

⁷ Cf. SEN. *Consol. ad Helv.* 9,4; CIC. *Brut.* 250; CICHORIUS (1888: 64 n. 1); PARKER (1991: 116 n. 6).

⁸ Cf. PLUT. *Brut.* 2; 52 for Brutus' contacts with Greek scholars.

⁹ Cf. SUSEMHL II (1892: 514). STEGEMANN (1953: 1026–1027) proposes a quite ingenious theory. He argues that the title given by the Suda rather indicates a historical treatise, and suggests that P. wrote both a declamation and a historical work on Alexander. The basis of his argument is, however, weak. Although in some cases the titles given by the Suda may clearly define the nature of work, more often they do not. A vague title like *On Alexander* can refer to any work on Alexander whatsoever. It should also be kept in mind that in the case of lost works the origin of the titles is very uncertain. Like a lot of the other information in the Suda they may simply be derived from an—often mistakenly generalizing—inference from some author's remarks. Thus, taking a most sceptical and perhaps heretical position, one might even argue that the Suda's title *On Alexander* is only reflecting remarks similar to those of Plutarch (T 4A).

Commentary on the Testimonies

(1) (a) As is shown by the other evidence on P.s life, Hesychius/Suda is plainly wrong in putting P.s *floruit* under Tiberius¹⁰. It seems to be simply an erroneous inference from the anecdotes which connect P. with this emperor. It is remarkable that P. as a non-Samian should have written a history of Samos. At least in view of the other historians of Samos listed by Jacoby¹¹ it seems quite exceptional. Its title *Samian Annals* recalls Duris' famous work, which it was perhaps thought to supplement. Maybe P. wrote it when Samos was granted its *libertas* by Augustus. Finally, we find a rhetorical work *On the Perfect Orator*. Its title suggests that it was similar to, if not inspired by, Cicero's *Orator*. Since no trace of P.s rhetorical oeuvre is left, it is difficult to decide whether he adhered to Atticism or Asianism. There are arguments on either side. P.s time of life and provenance might suggest that he was an Asianist¹², though the prevalence of classicistic notions in the Augustan age might be in favour of Atticism. (b) It seems that Lesbonax' *floruit* was deduced from that of P., and that it was therefore placed erroneously in Augustan times by Hesychius/Suda. In fact Lesbonax must have lived a generation earlier¹³. The attribute φιλόσοφος is also accorded to him in *IG XII* 2,255¹⁴. The vague description of his oeuvre is most certainly inferred from this title. Perhaps it also caused a lapse in the mind of the Suda in the case of his son P., who is called a philosopher instead of a sophist or rhetor, as would be usual.

(2) Strabo's remarks bring to mind the fact that Mytilene was a cultural center in the first century b.c. Theophanes (*FGrHist* 188) is most famous for the influences he exerted on his friend and patron Pompey after the Mithradatic War, while the rhetorician Lesbonax remains otherwise rather obscure¹⁵. Crinagoras, mainly known through his epigrams in the *Anthology*, accompanied P. on the embas-

¹⁰ BLASS (1865: 165); STEGEMANN (1953: 1023-1024); PARKER (1991: 118).

¹¹ *FGrHist* vol. III B LXIV.

¹² SCHMID II 1 (1920: 455).

¹³ SUSEMHL II (1892: 513 n. 223); PARKER (1991: 116).

¹⁴ Cf. also PARKER (1991: 128). Lesbonax is probably also referred to in *IG XII* 2,222; cf. PARKER (1991: 124-128). On the various persons called Lesbonax see on 1089. NICOSTRATUS T 6.

¹⁵ Cf. on him T 4 and SEN. *Contr.* 1,8,15; MONTANARI (1988: 68 n. 33).

sies to Caesar and the senate in 48 and 45 b.c. (T 6) and seems to have belonged to the Imperial court later¹⁶.

(3) Theodorus¹⁷ low origin suggests that the whole entry was drawn from Hermippus' books (1061) on slave scholars. Perhaps he came to Rome as a prisoner of war after the Mithridatic Wars, when Gadara had been taken and destroyed. Jerome/Eusebius puts his *floruit* at 33 b.c.¹⁸ The fact that Theodorus was a teacher of Tiberius is also attested by Suetonius and Quintilianus¹⁹, although the latter makes him accompany the future emperor somewhat later during Tiberius' famous *cessus* to Rhodes (6 b.c.). Nothing else is known about the contest with P. and Antipater, and the story may well be some scholarly yarn. The rhetorician Antipater remains quite obscure²⁰.

(4) Seneca the Elder compares P.s and Lesbonax' behaviour at their sons' death criticizing both for a lack of temperance²¹. He might have learned the moralizing example from Sotion, the teacher of his philosopher son, who is also the source of T 4A. The passage proves that P. had at least two sons. One of them, C. Claudius Diaphenes, is known to us from *IG XII* 2,656. He must have survived P., since he inherited his office as chief-priest of Augustus and Roma from his father, which was given for life. The second son, the one Seneca refers to, remains unknown to us, since *IG XII* 2,222, mentioning a Lesbonax, probably does not refer to P.s son but to P.s father²².

(4A) The text is included by Jacoby as F 1, but it is rather a testimony. Sotion speaks about a declamation by P. on Alexander which he attended. His remarks do not necessarily imply that P.s

¹⁶ On his life and work cf. CICHIORIUS (1888: 47-61); GOW - PAGE II (1968: 210-213); KIENAST (1982: 246; 259-260). Since it is often taken for granted (apparently on the basis of CICHIORIUS' [1888: 26-27; 61] wrong dating of *IG XII* 2,35a) that Crinagoras took part in the Mytilenean embassy to Augustus in 26/5 b.c., it should be noted that it is not attested by epigraphic evidence, cf. also GOW - PAGE II (1968: 211). There is nevertheless much in favour of this hypothesis, cf. PARKER (1991: 117-118).

¹⁷ Cf. on him especially CICHIORIUS (1888: 62-63); BOWERSOCK (1965: 35-36).

¹⁸ HIER. *Chron.* p. 162,16-19 HELM: *Nicetes et Hybreas et Theodorus et Plutio nobilissimi artis rhetoricae Graeci praecoptores habentur.*

¹⁹ SUET. *Tib.* 57; QUINT. *Inst. or.* 3,1,17-18.

²⁰ He is also mentioned together with Theodorus by DION CHRYS. *Or.* 18,12. If he is to be at all identified with any coeval namesake, the epigrammatist and courtier Antipater of Thessalonice might come to mind.

²¹ On the anecdote cf. also FAIRWEATHER (1981: 309-310). With it Seneca the Elder seems to anticipate some of the philosophical views of his son.

²² Cf. PARKER (1991: 124-127).

work was published, although this might well have been the case. The story about Alexander's dog told by P. seems to go back to Theopompus²³.

(6) The epigraphic evidence on P. and his family is impressive. I only give a selection of the most important testimonies²⁴, which come mainly from the Potamoneion (a-d). This honorary monument showed copies of Roman documents connected with P.s activities as an ambassador: two letters from Caesar, at least three *senatus consulta* from the times of Caesar and Augustus, and a treaty between Mytilene and Rome. Apart from these documents it also contained copies of local decrees and honours conferred on P. by the city. (a) Although half of the inscription is missing it clearly contains Caesar's response to an embassy, in which P. took part. The emperor assures Mytilene of his goodwill. The dating (48 or 47 B.C.) of the letter depends on whether ὑπάτος or δικτάτωρ is restored at its beginning. This is because Caesar was consul II in 48 B.C. and dictator II from October 48-47 B.C. The first solution might be preferable²⁵. It seems quite likely that the Mytileneans were eager—like many cities—to join Caesar's side after his victory at Pharsalus as soon as possible, the more so because Pompey had been their declared patron. (b) The inscription contains a *senatus consultum* dating to 45 B.C. in response to a second Mytilenean embassy, in which Mytilene had asked for the publication of the treaty and other connected measures serving to establish normal diplomatic relations. Obviously the results of the first embassy of 48/47 B.C. are now confirmed. The document is quite interesting insofar as its cautious language shows the servility of the senate towards the emperor. (c) P.s name is completely restored, but it is clear that the inscription must refer to him, because it comes from his monument. Apparently P. claimed king Pentheus²⁶, the legendary leader of the Aeolian colonization, among his ancestors. Although examples of such claims can also be found in Hellenistic times, it seems to be especially typical of Greek aristocrats in Imperial times²⁷. (d) In the inscription ἴερεύς or ἀρχιερεύς should be

²³ FGrHist 115 F 340.

²⁴ For extensive discussion of the various inscriptions SHERK (1963: 145-153); CHARITONIDIS (1968: 6-12); HODOT (1982: 187-189); CHANIOTIS (1988: 249-250); PARKER (1991: 115-129; especially 115 n. 2; 121 n. 25); FOLLET (1994: 488).

²⁵ Cf. PATON on IG XII 2,35; SHERK (1963: 149-150).

²⁶ Cf. STRAB. Geogr. 13,1,3 p. 582 C.; PAUS. 3,2,1.

²⁷ QUASS (1993: 68-70) listing P. amongst others.

restored. P. was priest or chief-priest of the cult of Augustus and probably Roma at Mytilene, as was his son after his death²⁸.

(e) The inscription comes from an interesting monument, where the great benefactors of Mytilene Pompey, Theophanes and P. are honoured side by side. In the Greek text the honorary titles are attributed to Lesbonax, P.s father, by mistake. The nature of the monument and other similar inscriptions concerning P. show that P. must be the person referred to. In any case, a confusion of genitive and dative would quite easily occur in the Aeolic dialect²⁹. (f) The inscription recording P.s proheteria is inscribed into a throne³⁰.

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²⁸ Cf. PARKER (1991: 119-120); on the cult of Roma on Mytilene see MELLOR (1975: 67-68; 214).

²⁹ Cf. IG XII 2,162; XII Suppl. 43-44; and DITTENBERGER ad Syll.³ 754.

³⁰ Cf. PARKER (1991: 119).

1086 (= 792). Aspasius of Byblus
(2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 SUDA α 4203 s.v. Ἀσπάσιος, Βύβλιος, σοφιστής, συγχρονῶν Ἀριστείδη καὶ Ἀδριανῷ. ἔγραψε Περὶ Βύβλου, Περὶ στάσεων ἐσχηματισμένων, μελέτας, τέχνας, ὑπομνήματα, λαλιάς, Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἀδριανὸν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ εἰς ἄλλους τινάς.

F
ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ

ΠΕΡΙ ΒΥΒΛΟΥ

1086 (= 792). Aspasius of Byblus
(2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 Aspasius of Byblus, sophist, contemporary of Aristides and Hadrianus: He wrote *On Byblus*, *On Controversiae Figuratae*, declamations, treatises, commentaries, addresses and an *Encomium on Hadrian*, the Emperor, and on some other people.

F
ENCOMIUM ON HADRIAN

ON BYBLUS

1086 (= 792). Aspasius of Byblus
(2nd cent. A.D.)

Introduction

Aspasius of Byblus¹ can be dated roughly to the 2nd century A.D. The name Aspasius is quite rare except in Byblus, where we find two other Aspasii mentioned in inscriptions². If the Suda is correct in making him contemporaneous with Aelius Aristides (ca. A.D. 117-189) and Claudius Hadrianus³ (ca. A.D. 113-193), he flourished during the reign of the Antonine emperors. His *Encomium on Hadrian*, however, suggests that he was born slightly earlier, perhaps about the beginning of the century. Like many other contemporary sophists and antiquarians he came from the Near East⁴. Greek cultural life seems to have blossomed at that time particularly in the Phoenician coastal cities Byblus, Berytus, Sidon and Tyre⁵. We are at any rate given the names of several men of letters coming from these cities. Apart from the antiquarians Philo of Byblus (1060) and Hermippus of Berytus (1061), we hear of the sophists Aspasius⁶, Hadrianus⁷ and Paulus of Tyre⁸, of the Platonic philosopher Taurus of Berytus⁹, and of the Stoic Euphrates of Tyre¹⁰. Altogether, A. is an author typical of the Second Sophistic. As the description of his oeuvre shows, he was active in nearly every genre of oratory. He wrote several encomiastic speeches, including one on Hadrian¹¹. The circumstances of this composition remain obscure, but perhaps there was more to it than

¹ Cf. on him generally SCHMID (1896: 1723) and II 2 (1924: 697-698).

² Cf. PEACHIN - PREUSS (1997: 190-191).

³ A. is dated in relation to other rhetors. Thus, the Hadrianus mentioned alongside Aristides should be regarded as the sophist Claudius Hadrianus, and not the Emperor Hadrian who is, moreover, qualified in the same article by an attribute.

⁴ On the various cities cf. BOWERSOCK (1969: 21).

⁵ MILLAR (1993: 274-295).

⁶ SUDA α 4204 s.v. Ἀσπάσιος (*FGrHist* 793). The article of the Suda does not inspire much confidence. As in the case of Taurus, the birthplace of the sophist Aspasius of Byblus may have varied. Perhaps the entry is simply a doublet, cf. also PEACHIN - PREUSS (1997: 190-191).

⁷ PHILOSTR. *Vit. soph.* 2,10.

⁸ SUDA π 809 s.v. Παῦλος Τύριος.

⁹ PHILOSTR. *Vit. soph.* 2,1 p. 71,29; SUDA τ 166 s.v. Ταῦρος; cf. on him HOLFORD STREVENS (1988: 66-71).

¹⁰ PLIN. *Ep.* 1,10; PHILOSTR. *Vit. soph.* 1,7 p. 7,21; 1,25 p. 46,30.

¹¹ Cf. on it also PERNOT I (1993: 77).

the mere desire to produce a literary exercise¹². Hadrian visited the cities of the East in the years A.D. 129-131¹³. A. might have composed a piece on him on this occasion, as perhaps Philo also did. In view of the example of Paulus of Tyre, who, as an ambassador to Hadrian's court, secured the status of a metropolis for his native city¹⁴, one might even be tempted to think that A.'s speech was also written to win some imperial favours for Byblus. Apart from the encomia A. composed declamations (*μελέται*), addresses (*λαλισί*)¹⁵, and some technical works: a book on *controversiae figuratae* (*περὶ στάσεων ἐσχηματισμένων*)¹⁶, rhetorical manuals (*τέχναι*) and commentaries (*ὑπομνήματα*), probably on orators, as is suggested by the surviving fragments¹⁷. He would have drawn upon historical subjects mainly as a means to display his learned rhetorical ability, and his work *On Byblus* should be viewed against this background. Although its genre is not mentioned explicitly, it was probably a speech, too. Regarding A.'s oeuvre, it seems quite surprising that he should not be mentioned in Philostratus' *Lives of Sophists*. Philostratus might have regarded him as an author of technical treatises rather than as a sophist.

¹² *Contra Fein* (1994: 280).

¹³ A stay in Byblus itself is not attested, cf. WEBER (1907: 238-239). If the reconstruction of HALFMANN (1986: 206-208) is correct, Hadrian can only have visited it in A.D. 131 on his way back from Egypt, since he seems to have chosen the route via Palmyra and Gerasa, when he travelled there from Antiochia.

¹⁴ WEBER (1907: 238 n. 864); MILLAR (1993: 289).

¹⁵ On the exact meaning of these terms see SCHMID (1887: 34-36); cf. also PERNOT II (1993: 554).

¹⁶ Cf. QUINT. *Inst. or.* 9,2,65; 9,1,14. The Greek title is unique in its composition. The Greek *στάσις* is equivalent to the Latin *causa* or *controversia*. HERMOG. *Inv.* 4,13 uses the expression *προβλήματα ἐσχηματισμένα* for the same matter. [DIONYS.] *Rhet.* dedicates two chapters (8 and 9, p. 295-358 Us.-R.; cf. also HILLGRUBER [1994: 61]) to the subject.

¹⁷ SCHOL. AESCHIN. *Or.* 1,83 p. 35,570 DILTS; SCHOL. DEMOSTH. *Or.* 20,4 p. 99,1 DILTS; PHOT. *Bibl.* 265 p. 492 a 39; SYRIAN. p. 66,10 RABE (~ MAXIM. SCHOL. HERMOG. *Id.* 1, V p. 517,23 WALZ); JOH. SICUL. SCHOL. HERMOG. *Id.* 1, VI p. 94,11 WALZ; ANONYM. SCHOL. HERMOG. *Id.* 1, VII p. 951,24 WALZ.

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1087. Aelius Sarapion
(1st half 2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 SUDA σ 115 s.v. Σαραπίων, ὁ Αἴλιος χρηματίσας, ὥτερ, Ἀλεξανδρεύς,
Ἐγραψε Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς μελέταις ἀμαρτανομένων, Ἀκροάσεων βιβλία ζ',
Πανηγυρικὸν ἐπὶ Ἀδριανῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ, Βουλευτικὸν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν, Εἰ
δικαίως Πλάτων "Ομηρον ἀπέπεμψε τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ ἄλλα συχνά, καὶ
5 Τέχνην ὥτορικήν.

F

ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΚΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΙ ΤΩΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ

⁴⁻⁵ καὶ Τ. ὥτορικήν *del. vel post* πολιτείας *transp.* Flach

1087. Aelius Sarapion
(1st half 2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 Aelius Sarapion, rhetorician, from Alexandria. He wrote *On Mistakes in Declamations*, seven books of *Lectures*, a *Panegyrikos on Hadrian*, a *Bouleutikos for the Alexandrians*, *Was Plato Justified in Banishing Homer from the State?*, many other works, and a *Manual of Rhetoric*.

F

PANEGYRIKOS ON THE EMPEROR HADRIAN

1087. Aelius Sarapion
(1st half 2nd cent. A.D.)

Introduction

The rhetor Sarapion of Alexandria can be securely dated to the epoch of Hadrian, because of his *nomen gentile* and his encomium on the emperor. It seems quite likely that he wrote it on the occasion of Hadrian's visit to Alexandria in A.D. 130/31 and was awarded the Roman citizenship in return¹. S. interests clearly were rhetorical. Apart from the encomium he composed a *Bouleutikos for the Alexandrians*, a rhetorical manual², and a treatise on a question much debated in the Second Sophistic³, namely, whether Plato in his *Republic* was right to exclude Homer from his state, which S. as a rhetor will of course have argued against.

¹ See on S. FEIN (1994: 280); on Hadrian's visit to Alexandria cf. WEBER (1907: 246-263); HALFMANN (1986: 207); BIRLEY (1997: 235-258).

² The Suda's text may be corrupt. Perhaps the title should be inserted after πολιτείας.

³ Cf. SCHMID I 1 (1929: 130 n. 4), who lists the authors concerned with this matter, for example Cassius Dio (1075) and Telephus (1071); and in general HILLGRUBER (1994: 31-35).

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1088. Zenobius
(1st half 2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 SUDA ζ 73 s.v. Ζηνόβιος, σοφιστής, παιδεύσας ἐν ἡρώῃ ἑπτὶ Ἀδριανοῦ
Καίσαρος. ἔγραψεν Ἐπιτομὴν τῶν παροιμιῶν Διδύμου καὶ Ταρραίου ἐν
βιβλίοις τρισὶ, μετάφρασιν Ἑλληνικῶς τῶν Ἰστοριῶν Σαλουστίου τοῦ
Ῥωμαϊκοῦ ἱστορικοῦ καὶ τῶν καλουμένων αὐτοῦ Βελῶν, Γενεθλιακὸν εἰς
5 Ἀδριανὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ ἄλλα.

F

ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΑΚΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ

⁴ βελῶν *codd.* : Βέλλων *anon. ap. Voss. Hist. Gr.*

1088. Zenobius
(1st half 2nd cent. A.D.)

T

1 Zenobius, sophist, teaching at Rome at the time of the Emperor Hadrian.
He wrote an *Epitome of Didymus' and Tarraeus' Collection of Proverbs* in three
books, a Greek translation of the *Histories* of the Roman historian Sallustius
and of his so-called *Bella*, a *Genethliakos on the Emperor Hadrian*, and other
works.

F

GENETHLIAKOS ON HADRIAN

1088. Zenobius
(1st half 2nd cent. A.D.)

Introduction

Zenobius, whose collection of proverbs is still extant in an abridged version¹, is dated to Hadrianic times by his *Genethliakos on Hadrian*, which is completely lost. As is shown by its title, the speech was composed on the occasion of the emperor's anniversary and may in fact have been presented as a gift or even delivered at the birthday celebration². It suggests that there was some connection between Z. and the Imperial court³. In his encomium Z. will of course have dwelt extensively on Hadrian's life and achievements. Furthermore, Z. translated Sallustius' historical works into Greek. Unfortunately no trace of this translation survives⁴.

¹ Cf. BÜHLER's edition (1982-1987).

² On the λόγος γενεθλιακός (JACOBY's γενεθλιακόν in his reference after *FGrHist* 200 p. 932 should be corrected, cf. BÜHLER I [1987: 33 n. 3]) see PERNOT I (1993: 100-101).

³ GÄRTNER (1972: 11); FEIN (1994: 281).

⁴ Cf. SCHANZ – HOSIUS I (1927: 378-379).

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1089. Nicostratus of Macedonia

(2nd cent A.D.)

T

1 SUDA v 404 s.v. Νικόστρατος, Μακεδών, βήτωρ. ἐτάχθη δὲ ἐν τοῖς κριθεῖσιν ἐπιδευτέροις δέκα βήτορσι· σύγχρονος Ἀριστείδου καὶ Δίωνος τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου· ἦν γὰρ ἐπὶ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ βασιλέως. ἔγραψε Δεκαμυθίαν, Εἰκόνας, Πολυμυθίαν, Θαλαττοργοὺς καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα· καὶ 5 ἐγκάμια εῖς τὸν Μάρκον καὶ ἄλλους.

2 SYNCCELL. *Eclog. Chron.* p. 432,2 MOSSHAMMER sub anno 165 (i.e. A.D. 173); Νικόστρατος λογοποιός.

3 DIG. 39,5,27: Papinianus libro vicensimo nono quaestionum: Aquilius Regulus iuvenis ad Nicostratum rhetorem ita scripsit: “quoniam et cum patre meo semper fuisti et me eloquentia et diligentia tua meliorem reddidisti, dono et permitto tibi habitare in illo cenaculo eoque uti.” defuncto Regulo controversiam habitationis patiebatur Nicostratus et, cum de ea remecum contulisset, dixi posse defendi non meram donationem esse, verum officium magistri quadam mercede remuneratum Regulum ideoque non 10 videri donationem sequentis temporis irritam esse. quod si expulsus Nicostratus veniat ad iudicem, ad exemplum interdicti, quod fructuario proponitur, defendendus erit quasi loco possessoris constitutus, qui usum cenaculi accepit.

4 (a) HERM. *Id.* p. 329,5-10 RABE: σχήματα δὲ ἀφελῆ καὶ κῶλα ταύτα, ἅπερ 20 ἦν καὶ καθαρά· συνθῆκαί τε ώσαύτως, ἀφελέστεραι δὲ αἱ μᾶλλον λελυμέναι, οἷον “ἀκούσατε μου ἀπολογούμενου δικαίως”, καὶ οἵαί εἰσιν αἱ πλεῖσται παρά τε τῷ Ξενοφῶντι καὶ τῷ Σωκρατικῷ Αἰσχίνῃ καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῷ Νικοστράτῳ. **(b)** *Id.* p. 407,8-21: Ο δὲ Νικόστρατος – ἄξιον γὰρ οἴμαι, τάχ’ 25 ἵσως δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον μετ’ ἔκείνους καὶ τούτου ποιήσασθαι μνήμην – ἀφελῆς μὲν οὐδενὸς ἥττον ἔστι τῶν προειρημένων, λεπτότερος δὲ καὶ πολλῷ

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(2nd cent A.D.)

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1 Nicostratus of Macedonia, rhetorician. He was included in the canon of the second ten orators and was a contemporary of Aristides and Dio Chrysostomus, since he lived under the Emperor Marcus Antoninus. He wrote a *Dekamythia*, *Images*, *Polymythia*, *Seafarers* and very many other works, and encomiastic speeches on Marcus and others.

2 Nicostratus, prose-writer.

3 Papinianus in the 29th book of his *Quaestiones*. The young Aquilius Regulus wrote to the rhetorician Nicostratus thus: “Since you have always associated with my father and improved me by your eloquence and careful attention, I grant and allow you to inhabit and use that upper storey.” After Regulus’ death Nicostratus was subjected to a quarrel about his right to dwell there, and when he asked my advice in the matter, I said that the defence could take the line that it was not a mere donation, but that Regulus repaid the services of his teacher with some recompense and that therefore the donation seemed not to be invalid at any subsequent time. If Nicostratus should be expelled and come to court, he must be defended on the analogy of the interdict set up for usufructuaries, inasmuch as the one who has got the right to inhabit an upper storey has been put into the place of an occupant.

4 (a) The simple figures and clauses are the same as those which are pure. Equally, regarding the sentence structure the more resolved is the simpler one, as for example *akusate mu apologumenu dikaios*, and as occurs the most in Xenophon, Aeschines, the Socratic philosopher, and also in Nicostratus.

(b) Nicostratus—it seems to me worthwhile if not necessary to draw attention to him as well after the other authors—is as simple as any of the aforementioned authors. In subtlety and pureness, however, he surpasses

⁴ Δεκαμυθίαν, Εἰκόνας, Πολυμυθίαν Α : Εἰκ., Πολυμ. καὶ Δεκαμ. V

καθαρώτερος σχεδὸν ἀπάντων· ὑπέρισχον γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ εἶδος καὶ οὐδαμοῦ μέγεθος ἔχον, πλὴν εἴ που κατ' ἔννοιαν μόνην. μύθοις μέντοι χαίρων καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τούτων ἡδοναῖς· ὃς γε καὶ μύθους αὐτὸς πολλοὺς ἔπλασεν, οὐκ Αἰσωπείους μόνον, ἀλλ’ οἵους εἶναι πως καὶ δραματικούς, ἐπιμελῆς δὲ κατὰ τὴν σύνταξιν ἀλλ’ ὅτι μάλιστα, μετὰ μέντοι τοῦ μὴ λυμαίνεσθαι τῇ ἀφελείᾳ. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν κατὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον τῶν πανηγυρικῶν εἶδος λόγων εὐδοκιμούντων ἀνδρῶν, μεθ’ ὧν καὶ τὸν Νικόστρατον ἐτάξαμεν, τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω. (c) *Id.* p. 409,4-10: ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ Ἡρόδοτον μετὰ Νικόστρατον δῆποτε ή μετ’ Αἰσχίνην, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ μετὰ Ξενοφῶντα ἡμεῖς τάττοιμεν ἄν λόγων τε δυνάμεως ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς κατ’ αὐτὸὺς ἔξεως, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν εἰδει πανηγυρικῷ τῇ δὲ ἀκολουθίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ιδέας ἐκείνης λόγου ἐπόμενοι ταύτῃ τῇ τάξει κεχρήμεθα, ιδίᾳ μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους πανηγυρικούς, ιδίᾳ δὲ τοὺς ιστορικούς τιθέντες. (d) PHILOSTR. *Vit. soph.* 2,31 p. 123,12 K.: ή μὲν ἐπίπαν ιδέα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς (*sc.* Αἰλιανοῦ) ἀφέλεια προσβάλλουσά τι τῆς 40 Νικοστράτου ὥρας, ή δὲ ἐνίοτε πρὸς Δίωνα ὥρᾳ καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου τόνον. (e) [DION. HAL.] *Rhet.* 3,9 p. 266,13-16 Us.-R.: λέξει δὲ χρηστέον ἀφελεῖ μᾶλλον ἐγγὺς Ξενοφῶντός τε καὶ Νικοστράτου βαίνοντα, ὀλιγαχοῦ δὲ ἔξαιροντα τὸν λόγον εἰς σεμνότητα, εἴ που τὰ ἔννοήματα ἀναγκάζοι. (f) MENAND. *Rhet.* Περὶ ἐπιδείκτ. II p. 389,32-390,4 Sp.: (...) ἀλλ’ ὅταν 45 ἀπλουστέρα τυγχάνῃ καὶ ἀφελεστέρα (*sc.* ἡ ἔξαγγελία), οὕτα η Ξενοφῶντος καὶ Νικοστράτου καὶ Δίωνος τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου καὶ Φιλοστράτου τοῦ τὸν Ἡρωϊκὸν καὶ τὰς Εἰκόνας γράψαντος ἐρριψμένη καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος.

5 SUDA μ 1010 s.v. Μητροφάνης, Κορηνηλιανοῦ ῥήτορος, Λεβαδεύς – πόλις δὲ Βοιωτίας ή Λεβάδεια –, σοφιστής. περὶ τῶν χαρακτήρων Πλάτωνος, 50 Ξενοφῶντος, Νικοστράτου, Φιλοστράτου, μελέτας, λόγους πανηγυρικούς.

6 SCHOL. (ER) LUCIAN. *Salt.* 69 p. 189,11-14 R.: Λεσβῶναξ²⁷] τοῦτον λέγει Λεσβώνακτα, οὗ καὶ ἄλλαι μελέται ῥήτορικαὶ φέρονται θαυμάσιαι καὶ ἐνάμιλλοι Νικοστράτου καὶ Φιλοστράτου τῶν ἐν τοῖς νεωτέροις σοφισταῖς διαπρεπόντων (...)

²⁷ χαίρων *codd.*, *fort.* χαίρει *scribendum* ⁴⁶⁻⁴⁷ τὸν Ἡρωϊκὸν *mWY*: τῶν -ῶν *Zp* (*add.* τὴν ἔξηγησιν *p*): τὸν Ἡρωϊκῶς *P* ⁴⁷ ἐρριψμένη *Znp* (*similia WP*): εἰρημένη *P*: εἰρομένη *Bursian*

nearly all of them, since his style is very lean and without any grandeur except in thought. He likes, nevertheless, tales and their specific pleasure, and has invented many tales himself, not only Aesopean ones, but also such that are somehow dramatic. He is careful about the syntax as far as it does not spoil the simplicity. So much about those who are famous in this kind of panegyric speech, with whom we have also placed Nicostratus. (c) (...) Not that I would place Herodotus after Nicostratus or Aeschines, nor even after Xenophon because of the vigour of his speeches and the skill shown in them, especially in the panegyrical genre, but I have used this arrangement to follow the line of thought regarding that type of speech, and have therefore treated panegyrists and historians separately. (d) Generally, his style (*sc.* Aelian's) is simple, showing some of Nicostratus' elegance, though at times it is closer to Dio's vigorous style. (e) One should use rather the simple style, keeping close to Xenophon and Nicostratus, and only sometimes raising the speech to grandeur, if required by the content. (f) (...) but if the style is more plain and simple, as is the casual and unartificial style of Xenophon, Nicostratus, Dio Chrysostomus, and of Philostratus who wrote the *Heroikos* and the *Images*.

5 Metrophanes, son of the rhetorician Cornelianus, of Lebadeia—Lebadeia is a city in Boeotia—, sophist. *On the Style of Plato, Xenophon, Nicostratus, Philostratus*, declamations, panegyrical speeches.

6 Lesbonax] he speaks of the Lesbonax, of whom there also circulate other rhetorical declamations, which are admirable works and of the same standard as those of Nicostratus and Philostratus, who excelled among the younger sophists.

7 Lib. Or. 1,42: (...) ὁ γενναιος ἐκεῖνος καὶ πρὸς τῷ Νικοστράτῳ τοῦ
55 Ἰσοκράτους καταφρονῶν (...).

F

ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ

7 (...) that fool who held Isocrates in worse regard than Nicostratus (...).

F

ENCOMIUM ON MARCUS AURELIUS

1089. Nicostratus of Macedonia
(2nd cent. A.D.)

Introduction

Nicostratus of Macedonia can be dated securely to the reign of the Antonine Emperors by his encomiastic writing on Marcus Aurelius. It is difficult to be more precise. N. is hardly to be identified with T. Aurelianus N. of Amus, a village of the Rhodian Peraea, who is referred to in *IG XII* 1,83 from Rhodes¹, since the honorary inscription belongs to the 3rd century A.D. and the name N. is quite common on the island². N. taught rhetoric, probably in Rome. A donation by one of his pupils involved him in some litigation, in which he consulted the famous lawyer Aemilianus Papinianus (T 3). N. was a very productive writer. He composed encomia and panegyrical speeches on famous people, and wrote tales, mimetic letters and descriptions of pictures (T 1). He does not, however, seem to have written novels of greater length (T 4). Soon after his death (or even during his life-time) N. became a classic, his style being regarded as the typical example for ἀφέλεια (T 4)³, and was included in the canon of the ten younger orators, modelled on that of the ten classic orators (T 1; 6). It is hard to say whether his works were still commonly read in the 5th century A.D.⁴ There are at any rate some excerpts by Stobaeus that preserve parts of his speeches about marriage⁵.

¹ This was assumed by HILLER VON GAERTINGEN (after BÖCKH) in his commentary; SCHMID II 2 (1924: 817 n. 4).

² BLINKENBERG II (1941: 884-885); see also on the name FRASER MATTHEWS I s.v. Νικόστρατος; on the village Amus BLÜMEL (1991: 95).

³ See especially PERNOT I (1993: 365-366).

⁴ SYNES. *Ep.* 129 refers rather to the philosopher Nicostratus, cf. PRAECHTER (1922: 503 n. 2); GARZYA in his edition ad loc., against SCHMID II 2 (1924: 817 n. 9), already corrected in his addenda on p. 1496.

⁵ The speeches are hardly excerpted from a novel, *contra* SCHMID II 2 (1924: 817 n. 10). They are rather independent treatises Περὶ γάμου.

Commentary on the Testimonies

(1) N. is dated by the Suda to the times of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, perhaps on the same evidence that we have, because he wrote an encomium on this emperor. The statement that N. was a contemporary of Dio Chrysostom and Aristides looks rather odd, since Dio seems to be much older than the others. This is, perhaps, simply a false inference by the Suda. A mistaken notion of Dio's times could easily arise from the sources, in which he is often grouped together with N., because both are regarded as members of the Second Sophistic (T 4 d.f.). Information on the canon of the best ten orators of the Second Sophistic is rare⁶. It seems quite likely that it was established not before the 4th century A.D. Apart from the encomia the Suda lists several works of which no trace is left. All of them are related in some way to the practices of the rhetorical school: (1) Two collections of tales in prose, called Δεκαμυθία and a Πολυμυθία, which seem to have contained Aesopean and other tales in prose, cf. on T 4. Perhaps the first was an abridged version of the second, as is suggested by the similarity of the titles. The title Δεκαμυθία does not imply that the collection comprised ten books⁷, but rather refers to the number of tales included. (2) Εἰκόνες⁸: This is the first collection of descriptions of pictures in prose known to us, though the rhetorical ecphrasis is of course much older than N. The work will have been similar to Philostratus⁹. (3) Θαλαττουργοί (Seafarers)⁹: This was probably a collection of mimetic epistles like Alciphron's.

⁶ Cf. on it SCHMID II 2 (1924: 691-692). Apart from the Suda one might refer to T 6 and to SOPATER *Proleg. ad Aristid.* 1-2 p. 111, 1-12 LENZ, which views the Second Sophistic as an epoch of its own. The wording of the Suda (ἐπιδευτέρων) may be slightly pejorative, cf. also SUDA α 3922 s.v. Ἀριστομένης (= test. 1 K.-A.); φ 763 s.v. Φρύνιχος (= test. 1 K.-A.); and the Latin *subsecundarius*, coined by Gellius (HOLFORD-STREVENS [1988: 38]).

⁷ Contra STEGEMANN (1936: 552), who in his article in the *RE* seems to have excerpted SCHMID and ROHDE, adding some mistakes of his own.

⁸ Cf. ROHDE (1914: 360).

⁹ Cf. ROHDE (1914: 541 n. 5); SCHMID II 2 (1924: 817; 826). Regarding the title STEGEMANN's (1936: 552) statement that they were "voll Sehnsucht nach dem Leben in ländlicher Natur" sounds quite odd.

(2) Syncellus (after Eusebius) puts N.s *floruit* in his year 165. This is equivalent to A.D. 173 in our calendar. Thus, N. flourished in the second half of the reign of Marcus Aurelius¹⁰.

(3) N. consulted Aemilius Papinianus († 212)¹¹ in a lawsuit concerning an *usus cenaculi*, the right to dwell without rent in the upper part of a house, which was given to him by Aquilius Regulus, a pupil of his. N.s privilege was contested after his pupil had died. Papinianus included the case in his *Quaestiorum libri*, written in the early nineties. If we assume that he was already a famous lawyer when N. addressed him, the action probably took place at the end of the eighties/beginning of the nineties. Furthermore, the case seems to indicate that N. lived and taught rhetoric in Rome, since not only did Papinianus live there, but the *usus cenaculi* also points to a big building with rented apartments, of which there were many in Rome.

(4) (a-c) Hermogenes refers to N. generally as an example for stylistic *ἀφέλεια*¹² (a) and lists him, though last, together with Xenophon and the Socratic Aeschines as a chief exponent of panegyric oratory (b-c). Apart from Aristides N. is the only contemporary mentioned in Hermogenes' Περὶ ἴδεῶν. It is hard to tell whether he was already dead at the time of its composition (A.D. 184)¹³, since T 3 seems to suggest that he still lived in the early nineties. According to Hermogenes N. also wrote tales, not only Aesopean ones (i.e. fables), but also *δραματικοί*. The division of stories seems to be made according to the rhetorical categories concerning the *διήγημα* as stated by Hermogenes in his *Progymnasmata*¹⁴. There the term *δραματικός* applies to invented stories with realistic content¹⁵. However, in this case it does not seem to refer to novels¹⁶, but to Hermogenes' collection of fables, which included stories with both animals (i.e. Aesopean tales) and human beings (*δραματικοί*), such as the famous tale of the widow of Ephesus. N.s collection, though in prose, was probably similar to

¹⁰ Contra STEGEMANN (1936: 551), who seems to mistake Syncellus' relative date for the absolute.

¹¹ Cf. on him especially LIEBS in *HLL* IV (1997: 117-123).

¹² Cf. also ROHDE (1914: 551).

¹³ Thus, SCHMID (1924: 817 n. 4), who points out that in contrast to Aristides N. is honoured with a separate chapter.

¹⁴ HERM. *Progym.* 2 p. 4,16-19 RABE: εἴδη δὲ διηγήματος βούλονται εἶναι τέτταρα· τὸ μὲν γάρ εἶναι μυθικόν, τὸ δὲ πλασματικόν, δὲ καὶ δραματικὸν καλοῦσιν, οἷα τὰ τῶν τραγικῶν, τὸ δὲ ιστορικόν, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν ἡ ἰδωτικόν.

¹⁵ On the terminology cf. ROHDE (1914: 376); MÜLLER (1976: 115-136).

¹⁶ Contra SCHMID II 2 (1924: 817).

those of Phaedrus and Babrius. (d) It is remarkable that N. should not be mentioned anywhere by Philostratus. The omission is hardly due to the fact that he was a contemporary of Philostratus¹⁷, because, according to our other sources, N. appears to have lived about a generation earlier than Philostratus and even than some of the people included in the *Lives of the Sophists*. Furthermore, Philostratus himself refers to N. as he does to Dio as a typical exponent of a certain style of speech. This seems to presuppose that N. had already become a classic author. Perhaps the easiest explanation of the omission is that N. did not fall under Philostratus' category of a sophist. (e) Ps.-Dionys speaks about the style of wedding speeches. Again N. is recommended for his *ἀφέλεια*. (f) Speaking about the style of the λαλιά Menander lists N. among the authors marked by stylistic *ἀφέλεια*. Since the section is about laudatory speeches, Menander possibly had some of N.s panegyrics in mind, cf. also on T 4.

(5) Nothing else is known about Metrophanes. If the Suda's statement about his work is correct, it seems chronologically impossible that he was a son of the imperial secretary Cornelianus, who held the office under the Antonines and to whom Phrynicus dedicated his dictionary¹⁸. Since Metrophanes wrote on Philostratus, he can not have lived before the 2nd half of the 3rd century A.D.

(6) The scholion on Lucian's *De saltatione* goes back to Arethas, archbishop of Caesarea in A.D. 914. The Mytilenean Lesponax mentioned by Lucian is said to be the orator Lesponax,— probably not to be identified with the author of the treatise Περὶ σχημάτων,— who lived in the 2nd century A.D. and of whom three declamations survive¹⁹. He is perhaps to be identified with the Lesponax who appears as ἥρως νέος on Mytilenean coins dating to the Antonine period²⁰. Lesponax' oeuvre is compared with that of N. and Philostratus. The remarks do not yield any indication of time. In fact, Lesponax seems to have lived slightly earlier than the other two authors. It is uncertain whether the expression τῶν ἐν τοῖς νεωτέροις σοφισταῖς διαπρεπόντων refers to the second canon of orators, cf. also on T 1. It could also be a general remark about the authors' excellence.

¹⁷ Thus SCHMID II 2 (1924: 817 n. 4).

¹⁸ Contra PIR² C 1303; BOWIE (1982: 58).

¹⁹ PHOT. *Bibl.* 74 p. 52 a 22-23 still read sixteen speeches. For the evidence see BLANK (1988: 145-146).

²⁰ Cf. PARKER (1991: 126).

(7) In his autobiographical speech (1), composed in A.D. 371 and afterwards, Libanius reviles an opponent by saying that he preferred N. to Isocrates.

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1090 (= 281). Callinicus of Petra
(3rd cent. A.D.)

T

1 (a) SUDA κ 231 s.v. Καλλίνικος, Γαῖου, ὁ καὶ Σουητώριος ἐπικληθείς, σοφιστής· Σύρος, ώς δέ τινες Ἀράβιος, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς Πετραῖος· σοφιστεύσας ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἔγραψε Πρὸς Λούπον περὶ κακοζηλίας ρήτορικῆς, Προσφωνητικὸν Γαλιήνῳ, Πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν περὶ τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ιστοριῶν βιβλία δέκα, Πρὸς τὰς φιλοσόφους αἱρέσεις, Περὶ τῆς Ρωμαίων ἀνανεώσεως· καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ἐγκώμια καὶ λόγους. **(b)** SUDA γ 132 s.v. Γενέθλιος, Γενεθλίου, Παλαιστίνος, ἐκ Πετρῶν, σοφιστής, μαθητὴς Μινουκιανοῦ καὶ Ἀγαπητοῦ, ἀντιπαιδεύσας κατὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας Καλλινίκῳ τῷ διασήμῳ (...). **(c)** SUDA ι 435 s.v. Ιουλιανός, Δόμνου, ἀπὸ Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας, σοφιστής, σύγχρονος Καλλινίκου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ· γεγονὼς ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως. **(d)** SUDA κ 158 s.v. κακοζηλία· Καλλίνικος ἔγραψεν ὁ Σύρος περὶ κακοζηλίας ρήτορικῆς.

2 LIB. *Or. 1,11*: (...) ἦν γάρ τις ἑταῖρος ἐμοὶ Καππαδόκης, Ιασίων ὄνομα αὐτῷ (...). οὗτος ὁ Ιασίων, ἀ παρ' ἀνδρῶν πρεσβυτέρων Ἀθηνᾶν τε πέρι καὶ τῶν αὐτόθι δρωμένων ἐδέδεκτο, καθ' ἡμέραν ώς εἰπεῖν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐμυθολόγει Καλλινίκους τέ τινας καὶ Τληπολέμους ἐτέρων τε οὐκ ὀλίγων σοφιστῶν διηγούμενος σθένος λόγους τε (...).

3 LIB. *Epist. 21,5*: σταθμός τίς ἐστι περὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην, Καλλίνικος ὄνομα αὐτῷ· Καλλινίκου γάρ ἐνταῦθα ἀποσφαγέντος ὁ σοφιστής γίνεται προστηγορία τῷ τόπῳ.

4 HIER. *Comm. in Dan. prol.*: ad intelligendas autem extremas partes Danielis multiplex Graecorum historia necessaria est: Suctoriū videlicet Callinici, Diodori, Hieronymi (154 T 13), Polybii, Posidonii (87 T 20), Claudii,

1090 (= 281). Callinicus of Petra
(3rd cent. A.D.)

T

1 (a) Callinicus, son of Gaius, also called Suetorius, sophist, a Syrian, according to some Arabian, but in reality of Petra. He taught rhetoric at Athens. He wrote *To Lupus on Rhetorical Mannerism*, an *Address to Gallienus*, *To Cleopatra on the History of Alexandria* in ten books, *Against the Philosophical Sects*, *On Rome's Revival*, and other encomia and speeches. **(b)** Genethlius, son of Genethlius, Palestinian, from Petra, sophist, pupil of Minucianus and Agapetus. He taught at Athens in competition with the famous Callinicus. (...) **(c)** Julianus, son of Domnus, from the Cappadocian Caesarea, sophist, contemporary of Callinicus, the sophist, living under the Emperor Constantine. **(d)** *kakozelia*: Callinicus, the Syrian, wrote *On Rhetorical Mannerism* (i.e. *kakozelia*).

2 (...) I had a Cappadocian companion called Iasion (...). Every day, so to speak, this Iasion told me stories he had heard from elder men about Athens and what had happened there, talking about Callinici and Tleptolemi and the powerful speeches of many other sophists (...).

3 There is a station on the Euphrates called Callinicus: The place gets its name from Callinicus, who was killed there.

4 But varied knowledge of Greek authors is necessary to understand the last part of the book *Daniel*, namely of Callinicus Suctoriū, Diodorus, Hieronymus, Polybius, Posidonius, Claudius, Theon, and Andronicus

²⁻⁶ ως ... λόγους *A'GVM* : om. F ⁴ Γαλιήνῳ *Ionsius* : Γαληνῷ *A* : Γαλήνῳ *G* : Γαλλήνῳ *VM* ⁹ <τῆς> Καππαδοκίας *Westermann*, sed cf. *Adler add.*, V p. 27 ¹⁰ Κωνσταντίνου *A* : Κωνστάντου *Vic* ¹⁵ ἐδέδεκτο *L²* : ἐδέδοκτο *L*

Theonis et Andronici cognomento Alipii, quos et Porphyrius (260 F 36) esse
25 secutum se dicit.

- 5** MENAND. RHET. Περὶ ἐπιδεικτ. II p. 386,28-31 Sp.: (...) καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα συντελεῖ πρὸς κόσμον τῇ πόλει. ἐφ' ἄπαισι δὲ τούτοις τοῖς παραγγέλμασιν ἐντεύξει Καλλινίκου λόγοις καὶ Ἀριστείδου καὶ Πολέμωνος καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ (...).
- 30** **6** MENAND. RHET. Περὶ ἐπιδεικτ. II p. 370,11-15 Sp.: κἄν μὲν ἔνδοξον ἦ (sc. τὸ γένος), ἔξεργάσῃ τὰ περὶ τούτου, ἐὰν δὲ ἄδοξον ἦ ἡ εὐτελές, μεθεὶς καὶ τοῦτο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιήσῃ, ὡς Καλλίνικος ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλικῷ.

F

ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΓΑΛΙΗΝΩΙ

ΜΕΓΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΑΝΑΝΕΩΣΕΩΣ

1 cf. *FGrHist* 281 F 1

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤ' ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Ά-ΐ

2 cf. *FGrHist* 281 F 2

Alypius, whom Porphyry claims to have followed.

5 (...) This too contributes to the adornment of the city. You will find examples of all these precepts in the speeches of Callinicus, Aristides, Polemon, and Hadrianus.

6 If it (*sc. the family*) is famous, elaborate on this issue, if it is obscure or mean, then omit it as well and make a start from the emperor himself, as did Callinicus in his *Great Basilikos*.

F

ADDRESS TO GALLIENUS

GREAT BASILIKOS

ON THE ROMAN REVIVAL

1 cf. *FGrHist* 281 F 1

ON THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDRIA 1-10

2 cf. *FGrHist* 281 F 2

1090 (= 281). Callinicus of Petra
(3rd cent. A.D.)

Introduction

Callinicus¹ seems to have flourished in the seventies of the 3rd century A.D., since he wrote a speech on the emperor Gallienus (A.D. 260-268) and dedicated works both to Virius Lupus, the Roman governor of the province of Arabia, and to Zenobia. He originally came from Petra², but moved to Athens certainly by the time of Gallienus' reign, where he pursued the profession of a *σοφιστής* (T 1 a)³. Like Longinus he appears to have returned to the East after the emperor's death. Perhaps he also went to the Palmyrene court, as the dedication of a work to Zenobia might suggest. The time and circumstances of his death remain uncertain, but he will in any case hardly have seen the age of Constantine (T 1 c). His literary oeuvre is completely lost. Amongst the few titles we are given is an *Address to Gallienus*, perhaps delivered in Athens, and an encomium (*μέγας βασιλικός*) on some emperor, who may have been either Aurelian or Gallienus (T 6). Besides, C. dealt with historical subjects, the dividing line between history and rhetoric being slender anyway. Most important in this field is his history of Alexandria in ten books, which was used by Porphyry⁴.

Commentary on the Testimonies

(1) (a) It is hard to decide whether C. had the cognomen Suetorius or Suctorius (T4). Perhaps the first alternative is preferable because of its Latin stem. As in other examples, one would rather expect a Latin than a Syrian element in such compound names⁵. The dating of C.

¹ Cf. on him especially JACOBY (1919: 1649-1650) and in his edition *FGrHist* 281; STEIN (1923: 448-456); most recently PERNOT I (1993: 104). Since JACOBY, *FGrHist* 281 omits several testimonies, I have provided a complete new edition and commentary of them. For fragments the reader is still referred to JACOBY's collection.

² On C. and Hellenic culture in Arabia cf. BOWERSOCK (1983: 135).

³ On Gallienus' philhellenism and the intellectual circle at Athens during his reign, cf. ALFÖLDI (1967: 257-260).

⁴ Cf. *FGrHist* 281 F 2 (= 260 F 36). Large parts of Porphyry's history of the Ptolemies may be based on it.

⁵ Cf., however, JACOBY's commentary p. 364.

depends mainly on his writings. They show that C. flourished in the seventies of the century. His address to the Emperor Gallienus must fall within the period 260-268, his history of Alexandria should be dated to 270-271, since it is dedicated to the Palmyrene empress Zenobia. C. flatteringly addresses her as Cleopatra, a title she seems to have used herself after her conquest of Egypt in 270⁶. A third work *On Rhetorical Mannerism* is dedicated to Virius Lupus, who was *consul ordinarius* in 278⁷ and had been governor of the province of Coele Syria and of the province of Arabia some time before, probably during Gallienus' reign⁸. Thus, C.s treatise should be dated to this epoch too. Also of great interest is C.s encomiastic speech *On Rome's Revival* which belongs to the genre of the *laus urbis*. It is usually dated to the reign of Aurelian⁹, although there is no clear indication of time in the surviving fragment (*FGrHist* 281 F 1), which could also have been written under Gallienus. (b) The Suda uses the synchronism with C. to date Genethlius—equally from Petra—to the time of Gallienus¹⁰. (c) The Suda's dating of C. to the Constantinian era by synchronism with Iulianus Domnus is not precise. Even if Κωνσταντίου is a corruption of Κωνσταντίου, C.s *floruit* has to be placed earlier¹¹.

(2) Libanius' remarks do not afford any clear indication of time. C.s name is used in the plural as a substitute for sophist.

(3) The claim that the place Callinicus is named after the sophist C. is clearly ridiculous, because it got its name from the victory of Seleucus II Callinicus¹².

(4) Jerome lists C. first amongst various authors of Near Eastern history. The list seems to be partly derived from Porphyry. Claudius and Theon should be regarded as two authors rather than as one¹³. The reference is to the Πρόχειροι κανόνες of Claudius Ptolemy, especially the κανών βασιλειῶν containing a list of kings from Nabonassar

⁶ Cf. HIST. AUG. *Aur.* 27,3; *Prob.* 9,5; STEIN (1923: 452-455).

⁷ Cf. STEIN (1923: 452); PFLAUM (1952: 328); PLRE I s.v. Lupus (5).

⁸ On Lupus' career cf. STEIN (1923: 451-452); PFLAUM (1952: 326-330); cf. also JACOBY's comm. p. 364-365.

⁹ See STEIN (1923: 449); JACOBY's comm. p. 366.

¹⁰ Apart from the Suda Genethlius is known through references in the SCHOL. DEM. 18,8 p. 203,20; 18,52 p. 212,29 DILTS I ; 19,2 p. 3,25; 19,148 p. 56,3; 22,3 p. 260,6 DILTS II. He may be the author of the first treatise Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν, attributed to Menander of Laodicea; cf. RUSSELL - WILSON (1981: XXXVI-XL).

¹¹ JACOBY (1919: 1649).

¹² BELOCH IV 2² (1927: 539); WILL I (1979: 254-258).

¹³ Pace JACOBY, who also postulates a Claudius Theon in his unpublished notes.

onwards¹⁴, and to Theon of Alexandria (2nd half 4th century A.D.), who commented on them¹⁵. Of course Theon can not have been used by Porphyry, but Jerome is often not very precise in his quotations. The last part of the list seems anyway to have been added by Jerome himself, because the alphabetical principle is abandoned. The identity of Andronicus Alypius remains unknown.

(5) Menander speaks about the topics of a *laus urbis*. In the case of C. he may have had in mind G.s speech *On the Roman Revival* or something similar.

(6) There is some debate as to whether the *Megas Basilikos*, mentioned by Menander, refers to the *Address to Gallienus*¹⁶ or to an unknown panegyrical speech on Aurelian¹⁷. The difference of the titles suggests that both speeches should not be identified: a λόγος προσφωνητικός indicates a short address, whereas a λόγος βασιλικός designates a panegyrical speech. The question, then, is to which emperor the *Megas Basilikos* refers. Aurelian indeed seems to be a suitable candidate, because he was of ignoble origin. But Gallienus is perhaps equally possible. Although he was of noble birth, a speech on him will have hardly made mention of his father Valerian, because he was ignominiously captured by Shapur I.

¹⁴ Cf. WACHSMUTH (1895: 301-307).

¹⁵ Cf. on him SCHMID II 2 (1924: 898; 1065).

¹⁶ GROAG (1918: 19); STEIN (1923: 451).

¹⁷ NITSCHE (1883: 14); PERNOT I (1993: 77; 104); RUSSELL – WILSON (1981: 275). If C. should hide behind the historian Callistrate (*FGrHist* 213), who is adduced by the Historia Augusta in the vita of Aurelian, cf. ZECCHINI (1995: 305), it seems very likely that C. composed some treatise on Aurelian.

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1091. Cassius Longinus
(c. A.D. 213–273)

T

- 1 SUDA λ 645 s.v. Λογγῖνος, ὁ Κάσσιος, φιλόσοφος, διδάσκαλος Πορφυρίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου, πολυμαθῆς καὶ κριτικὸς γενόμενος, ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλιανοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἀνηρέθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς σύμπνους Ζηνοβίᾳ τῇ Ὀδηνάθου γυναικί.
5 ἔγραψε Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ φύ[<]σιν[>] βίου, Ἀπορήματα Ὄμηρικά, Εἰ φιλόσοφος "Ὀμηρος, Προβλήματα Ὄμήρου καὶ λύσεις ἐν βιβλίοις β', Τίνα παρὰ τὰς ιστορίας οἱ γραμματικοὶ ὡς ιστορικὰ ἐξηγοῦνται, Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὄμήρῳ πολλὰ σημαίνουσῶν λέξεων δ', Ἀττικῶν λέξεων ἐκδόσεις β', εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ στοιχεῖον, Λέξεις Ἀντιμάχου καὶ Ἡρακλέωνος καὶ ἄλλα πολλά.

- 2 SUDA φ 735 s.v. Φρόντων, Ἐμισηνὸς, ρήτωρ, γεγονώς ἐπὶ Σευήρου τοῦ
10 βασιλέως ἐν Ρώμῃ. ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις ἀντεπαίδευσε Φιλοστράτῳ τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ Ἀγίνη τῷ Γαδαρεῖ. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ἐν Ἀθήναις, περὶ ξ' ἔτη γεγονώς, καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Φροντωνίδος παίδα ὅντα Λογγίνον τὸν κριτικὸν κατέλιπεν κληρονόμον. ἔγραψε δὲ συχνοὺς λόγους.

- 3 PORPHYR. *Vita Plot.* 20,19-25: ὁ (...) νῦν καιρὸς οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ἔστιν ὥσην σπάνιν
15 ἔσχηκε τοῦ πράγματος (i.e. τῆς φιλοσοφίας)· ἔτι δὲ μειρακίων ὅντων ἡμῶν οὐκ δόλιγοι τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ λόγων προέστησαν, οὓς ἄπαντας μὲν ὑπῆρχεν ίδειν ἦμιν διὰ τὴν ἐκ παίδων ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τόπους ἄμα τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἐπιδημίαν, συγγενέσθαι δὲ αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐπιβιώσασι κατὰ ταύτῳ συχνοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ πόλεσιν ἐπιμίξαντας.

- 20 4 PORPHYR. *Vita Plot.* 20,36-38: τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου (sc. τρόπου) Πλατωνικοὶ μὲν Ἀμμώνιος καὶ Ὁριγένης, οἵς ἡμεῖς τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου προσεφοιτήσαμεν (...).

1091. Cassius Longinus
(c. A.D. 213–273)

T

1 Cassius Longinus, philosopher, teacher of Porphyry the Philosopher, polymath and grammarian. He lived under the Emperor Aurelian and was killed by him as a partisan of Zenobia, the wife of Odaenathus. He wrote *On the Natural life*, *Homeric Questions*, *Is Homer a Philosopher?*, *Homeric Problems and Their Solutions* in two books, *What the Grammarians Relate Like Historical Facts Against History*, four books *On Ambiguous Words in Homer*, an *Encyclopedia of Attic Words* in two books—their order is alphabetical—, a *Glossary of Antimachus* and of *Heracleon*, and many other works.

2 Fronto of Emesa, rhetorician, flourishing under the Emperor Severus in Rome. He taught at Athens in competition with Philostratus I. and Apsines of Gadara. He died at Athens, when he was about sixty years old leaving the Grammarian Longinus, the son of his sister Frontonis, as his heir. He wrote many speeches.

3 The present time suffers an incredible dearth in this matter (i.e. in philosophy). When I was young there were many leaders of philosophical discussion. I had the opportunity to see them all, because, since my early youth, I travelled with my parents to many places, and could associate with those who still lived when I similarly visited many peoples and cities by myself.

4 Of the second kind were the Platonists Ammonius and Origenes, with whom I studied most of the time.

¹ ὁ codd. : ὁ καὶ Daub (1882: 111) ³ Ὀδηνάθου Ruhnken : Ὀδυμνάθου A : Ὀδυμνάμου GM : Ὀγυμνάθου V ⁴ φύσιν βίου M. Schmidt (1854: 47) : φυσίου codd. : Φείδιου ed. pr. ⁵ παρὰ GM : περὶ A ⁸ καὶ Ἡρακλέωνος codd. : κατ' Ἡρακλέωνος Hemsterhusius : καὶ Κλέωνος Langbaenius ¹¹ ἐτελεύτησε κτλ. A² (des. vel. manus)

5 EUN. *Vit. soph.* 4,1,2-5: τυχών δὲ (*sc. Πορφύριος*) τῆς προσηκουόστης παιδείας, ἀνά τε ἔδραμε τοσοῦτον καὶ ἐπέδωκεν, ὡς Λογγίνου μὲν ἦν ἀκροατής, καὶ
25 ἐκόσμει τὸν διδάσκαλον ἐντὸς ὄλιγου χρόνου. Λογγίνος δὲ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον βιβλιοθήκη τις ἦν ἔμψυχος καὶ περιπατοῦν μουσεῖον καὶ κρίνειν γε τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐπετέτακτο, καθάπερ πρὸ ἐκείνου πολλοὶ τινες ἔτεροι, καὶ ὁ
30 Πορφύριος ἐκαλεῖτο τὰ πρῶτα – τοῦτο δὲ δύναται βασιλέα λέγειν –,
Πορφύριον δὲ αὐτὸν ὠνόμασε Λογγίνος, ἐς τὸ βασιλικὸν τῆς ἐσθῆτος
παράσημον τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀποτρέψας. παρ' ἐκείνῳ δὴ τὴν ἄκραν
ἐπαιδεύετο παιδείαν, γραμματικῆς τε εἰς ἄκρον ἀπάσης, ὥσπερ ἐκείνος,
ἀφικόμενος καὶ ρήτορικῆς πλὴν ὅσον οὐκ ἐπ' ἐκείνην ἔνευσε, φιλοσοφίας γε
πᾶν εἶδος ἐκματτόμενος. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Λογγίνος μακρῷ τῶν τότε ἀνδρῶν τὰ πάντα
35 ἄριστος, καὶ τῶν βιβλίων τε αὐτοῦ πολὺ πλῆθος φέρεται, καὶ τὸ φερόμενον
θειμάζεται. καὶ εἴ τις κατέγνω τινὸς τῶν παλαιῶν, οὐ τὸ δοξασθὲν ἐκράτει
πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἡ Λογγίνου πάντως ἐκράτει κρίσις.

6 Eus. *Praep. ev.* 10,3,1 (= PORPHYR. F 408 SMITH): τὰ Πλατώνεια ἔστιων ἡμᾶς
Λογγίνος Ἀθήνησι κέκληκεν ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ Νικαγόραν (1076 T 7)
40 τὸν σοφιστὴν καὶ Μαῖορα Ἀπολλώνιόν τε τὸν γραμματικὸν καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν
γεωμέτρην Προσήνην τε τὸν Περιπατητικὸν καὶ τὸν Στωϊκὸν Καλλιέτην.

7 (a) Zos. *Hist.* 1,56,2: ἐπεὶ δὲ αἵτιας ἔλεγεν (*sc. Ζηνοβία*) ἐαυτὴν ἔξαιροῦσα,
πολλούς τε ἄλλους ἤγειν εἰς μέσον ὡς παραγαγόντας οἴα γυναικα, ἐν οἷς καὶ
45 Λογγίνος ἦν, οὐ συγγράμματα ἔστι μέγα τοῖς παιδείας μεταποιούμενοις
ὅφελος φέροντα. ὥπερ ἐφ' οὓς κατηγορεῖτο ἐλεγχομένῳ παραχρῆμα ὡς βασιλεὺς
θανάτου ζημίαν ἐπέθηκεν, ἦν οὕτω γενναίως ἤνεγκεν ὁ Λογγίνος, ὥστε καὶ
τοὺς σχετλιάζοντας ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει παραμυθεῖσθαι, καὶ ἄλλων δὲ Ζηνοβίας
κατειπούσης κολάσεσιν ὑπαχθέντων. (b) *HIST. AUG. Aur.* 30,1-3:
50 sed, ut ad incepta redeamus, ingens tamen strepitus militum fuit omnium
Zenobiam ad poenam poscentium. (2) sed Aurelianus indignum aestimans
mulierem interimi, occisis plerisque auctoribus illa bellum moverat,

²⁷ ἐπετέτακτο corr. *A¹*: ἐπετάτακτο *Cobet* ³¹ ἀποτρέψας *A* : ἀποστρέψας
Vollebregt ³³ γε *Wytenbach*: τε *A* ³⁸ Πλατώνεια *IO* : Πλωτίνεια *BN* ³⁹ Λογγίνος *BIO* : ὁ
Α-*ND* || Νικαγόραν *ODN²* : -γόρα *BN¹* : Νικάνορα *I* ⁴³ ἐπεὶ δὲ *codd.* : ἢ δὲ *Bekker* ⁴⁴⁻⁴⁵ ἐν
οἷς καὶ Λογγίνος ἦν *codd.* : καὶ δὴ καὶ Λογγίνον *Stephanus* ⁴⁵ μέγας : μεγάλα *V* ⁵⁰ sed ut
Peter : sed se dux *P* : sed *S* || incepta *P* : cepta *S* ⁵¹ indignum aestimans *edd.* :
indignaestimans *P* : indignum (*vel* -digum) existimans *S*

5 Enjoying an adequate education, he (*sc. Porphyry*) quickly rose and made such progresses that he was an honour to his teacher—he was a pupil of Longinus—in a short time. In those days Longinus was a living library and walking museum and an institution of literary criticism concerning the ancient authors, like many others before him, and most famous of all, Dionysius of Caria. Porphyry was originally called Malchus in his Syrian hometown, which means “king”, but Longinus named him Porphyry in reference to the name of the Imperial attire. With Longinus he received the best education and advanced like him to perfect knowledge in grammar and rhetoric, except that he did not pursue it exclusively, but was attracted by every type of philosophy. In fact, Longinus was in every respect by far the most excellent of the men of his time, and a great number of his books are in circulation and are admired. And when a verdict was pronounced on some ancient author, earlier opinion did not count, but Longinus’ judgment generally prevailed.

6 Longinus, entertaining us at Athens in celebration of Plato’s birthday, invited amongst many others Nicagoras the Sophist, Maior, Apollonius the Grammarian, Demetrius the Geometer, Prosenes the Peripatetic, and Calliates the Stoic.

7 (a) When Zenobia pleaded her cause, she exculpated herself and produced many others who she said had led her astray, since she was a woman, including Longinus, too, whose books are of much use to those laying claim to education. When he was found guilty of the charges, the Emperor at once sentenced him to death. Longinus bore this with so much dignity that he also comforted those who complained about their misfortune, there being others who were suffering punishment because they had been denounced by Zenobia. (b) However, to return to the subject, there was great clamour by all soldiers requiring the punishment of Zenobia. (2) But Aurelian, regarding it as disgraceful to kill a woman, put to death most of those on whose advice

paraverat, gesserat, triumpho mulierem reservavit, ut populi Romani oculis
 55 esset ostentui. (3) grave inter eos, qui caesi sunt, de Longino philosopho
 fuisse perhibetur, quo illa magistro usa esse ad Graecas litteras dicitur. quem
 quidem Aurelianus idcirco dicitur occidisse, quod superbior illa epistula (*cf.*
 27,1-6) ipsius diceretur dictata consilio, quamvis Syro esset sermone
 contexta.

8 LIB. *Epist.* 1078: Εὐσεβίῳ· Ὁδαίναθον τὸν λόγον, Λογγίνου δὲ ὁ λόγος, ἐγὼ
 60 μὲν ἀπαιτῶ, σὲ δὲ δεῖ δοῦναι καὶ γενέσθαι δίκαιον περὶ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν.

F

ΟΔΑΙΝΑΘΟΣ

⁵³ reservavit *P* : servavit *Σ* ⁵⁴⁻⁵⁶ grave ... fuisse : *locus vix sanus, fort. lacuna post* sunt
statuenda ⁵⁴ caesi *P* : occisi *Σ*

she had stirred, prepared and gone to war, and kept the woman for the
 triumph to show her to the eyes of the Roman people. (3) Amongst those
 who were executed Longinus' case is reported to have been severe, whom
 Zenobia is said to have used as a teacher for Greek letters. Aurelian is said
 to have killed him, because the very arrogant letter was said to have been
 dictated on his advice, although it was written in the Syrian tongue.

8 To Eusebius: I am asking you for the *Odaenathus*, the speech written by
 Longinus. You should send it and keep your promise.

F

ODAENATHUS

1091. Cassius Longinus
(c. 213-273 A.D.)

Introduction

Cassius Longinus, Neo-Platonic philosopher, antiquarian and rhetor, lived from about A.D. 213 to 273 (T 1)¹. His family originally came from Emesa (T 2). As he himself tells us, he travelled extensively with his parents in his youth (T 3) and attended the lectures of the Platonists Ammonius Saccas and Origenes (T 4). He finally settled in Athens, where he taught rhetoric and philosophy and, being an Atticist², became one of the most reputed literary critics of the century (T 5)³. He associated with the intellectual élite of his days, amongst them Nicagoras (1076) and Plotinus. Although it is not expressly stated, it seems very likely that he held one of the two official university chairs for Platonic philosophy some time after A.D. 250 (T 6)⁴. If so, Plotinus' remarks that L. was a philologist but no philosopher become even more trenchant⁵. L.'s most famous pupil was Porphyry, whose work also shows L.'s influence. At some time in the late sixties L. moved to Palmyra. The reasons for his decision can only be surmised. Maybe family ties—he came from Emesa—⁶, maybe the impending danger of Gallic raids on Athens caused him to give up his post as teacher⁷, or perhaps even a new political and cultural perspective, opened up to him by the Palmyrene rulers Odaenathus and Zenobia⁸. In any case, we find him in the role of a secretary and adviser at the Palmyrene court at the end of the sixties, when conflict broke out between Zenobia and the Emperor Aurelian. In fact, L. is one of the most famous victims of the Palmyrene separatism, since he was executed at the behest of Aurelian after his conquest of Palmyra in A.D. 272 (T 7). It was probably also in his func-

¹ Cf. on L. in general *PIR*² C 500; *PLRE* I s.v. Longinus (2); SCHMID II 2 (1924: 889-891); AULITZKY (1927: 1401-1423); DÖRRIE (1969: 731-732). The basis for these works has been laid by the excellent study of RUHNKEN (1776).

² NORDEN I (1915: 360).

³ On L.'s intellectual profile, which is quite typical, cf. HADOT (1984: 246-247; 228).

⁴ DÖRRIE (1969: 731); on the different university chairs established by Marcus Aurelius in A.D. 176 cf. HADOT (1984: 246-247); DÖRRIE III (1993: 135-139).

⁵ PORPHYR. *Vita Plot.* 14,19-20.

⁶ AULITZKY (1927: 1402).

⁷ SCHMID II 2 (1924: 889); but see ALFÖLDI (1967: 259 n. 176).

⁸ SCHMID II 2 (1924: 889); ALFÖLDI (1967: 260).

tion as a political adviser that L. composed his *Odaenathus* (T 8). This must have been either a laudatory speech or a biography of the Palmyrene king, and was probably written after his death⁹. Regarding the list of his works, L. must have been a prolific writer. We know several titles of philosophical and antiquarian treatises (T 1), although substantial parts are only preserved of his Περὶ τέλους (the preface), his *Rhetic* and his commentary on *Hephaestion*. His most famous antiquarian work was the Φιλόλογοι ὄμιλοι in at least 21 books¹⁰, which are quoted several times and may have influenced Porphyry in the choice of the title of his book *Φιλόλογος ἀκρόασις*.

Commentary on the Testimonies

(1) L.'s date of birth, A.D. 213, is inferred from his relationship to Porphyry. The latter was born about A.D. 233 and, as his teacher, L. may have been his elder by twenty years. In our sources, L. is generally rendered contemporaneous with Zenobia and the Palmyrene separatism. Therefore, his *floruit* is always put—slightly too late—in the reign of Claudius Gothicus or Aurelian¹¹. The long list of works, of which no trace survives, shows L.'s philosophical and antiquarian interests: 1) A philosophical treatise called *On the Natural Life*¹²; 2) *Homeric Questions*¹³; 3) *Is Homer a Philosopher?*; L.'s influence on Porphyry is manifest¹⁴; 4) *Homeric Problems*. It is very likely that this is only an alternative title for the *Homeric Questions*, which was mistaken for a second work by the Suda¹⁵; 5) A work called *Tίτα παρὰ τὰς ιστορίας οἱ*

⁹ AULITZKY (1927: 1402); MILLAR (1971: 5 n. 56); PERNOT I (1993: 77).

¹⁰ IOH. SIGELIOTA, RHET. GR. VI p. 93,7-10 WALZ (= F 557 SH); 95,1-11; 225,23-29 (= AESCHYL. F 281 RADT); SCHOL. APOLL. RHOD. p. 329,8-10 WENDEL; SOPATR. Proleg. in Aristid. 17 p. 118,1-5 LENZ; PHOT. Bibl. 265; cf. also RHET. GR. I p. 213-216 SPENGEL (sec. however, SMITH [1994: 525-529]), and Lachares' excerpt published by GRAEVEN (1895: 289-313).

¹¹ PHOT. Bibl. 265 p. 492 a 29: Λογγῖνος μὲν ὁ κριτικὸς (...) ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου δὲ οὗτος ἡκμαζε, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ συνηγονίζετο Ζηνοβίᾳ τῇ τῶν Ὀσροηνῶν βασιλίδι; SYNCELL. Eclig. Chron. p. 469, 26-27 MOSSHAMMER: Αὐρηλιανὸς τὸν Παλμυρηνὸν ἔχειρώσατο καὶ Γαλλίαν ὑπέταξεν, ἐφ' οὐ φασι Φιλόστρατον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ιστοριογράφον καὶ Λογγῖνον ἀκμάσαι.

¹² The correction of the senseless φυβίου is certainly right, cf. SCHMIDT (1854: 47 n. 1). Probably an abbreviation of φύσιν caused the error; other less likely solutions are listed by DAUB (1882: 111); see also T 95.5 DÖRRIE [D.] III with p. 330.

¹³ Perhaps EUSTATH. Comm. Hom. A 139 p. 67,28-29; A 295 p. 106,33 go back to this work. See, however, LEHRS (1882: 220).

¹⁴ T 85,6 D. III with p. 253.

¹⁵ Cf. LEHRS (1882: 220) adducing Aristotle's work as a parallel.

γραμματικοὶ ὡς ιστορικὰ ἔξηγοῦνται. Its name seems to reflect the title of Caecilius' treatise Περὶ τῶν κατὰ ιστορίαν ἡ παρὰ ιστορίαν εἰρημένων τοῖς ρήτορσι¹⁶; 6) a dictionary on Homer in four books; 7) an Atticistic dictionary in alphabetic order in two books; 8) Λέξεις Ἀντιμάχου; 9) An epitome of Heracleon (?). The text suffers from extreme abbreviation, if not corruption. The best solution seems to be either to read the title as Λέξεις Ἡρακλέωνος or to assume a lacuna before or after Ἡρακλέωνος. L. possibly composed an epitome of Heracleon, as did Claudius Didymus¹⁷. The question is whether the reference is to Heracleon of Tillotis, who wrote on Homer, or to Heracleon of Ephesus, author of Attic Γλῶσσαι ὄψαρτυτικαί¹⁸. The latter is usually preferred¹⁹, and indeed there are many examples of epitomes of dictionaries and γλῶσσαι. However, L.s interest in Homer might also suggest that it was a work of the former which he compiled. Despite its length the list of the Suda is far from complete. Apart from the works mentioned in the introduction the following lost works should be added: 10) Περὶ ἀρχῶν²⁰; 11) Περὶ τέλους²¹; 12) Πρὸς τὴν στωϊκῶν περὶ ψυχῆς δόξαν ἀντίρρησις²²; 13) a commentary on the *Phaedo* (?)²³; 14) a commentary on the *Timaeus*²⁴; 15) Πρὸς τὴν Ἀμελίου ἐπιστολήν²⁵; 16) A work called φιλαρχαῖος²⁶. 17) L. is also listed amongst the au-

¹⁶ Cf. SUDA κ 1165 s.v. Κεκίλιος. Treatises with similar titles were also written by Apollonides of Nicaea (Περὶ κατέψευσμένης ιστορίας; *Vita Arat.* p. 10,16 MARTIN) and Apollonius Dyscolus (Περὶ κατέψευσμένης ιστορίας; SUDA α 3422 s.v. Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀλεξανδρεύς), if this is not due to some confusion.

¹⁷ Cf. SUDA δ 874 s.v. Διδυμός.

¹⁸ Cf. on the Heracleones GUDEMAN (1912: 512-515); BERNDT (1914); GUDEMAN (1917: 91-96).

¹⁹ GUDEMAN (1912: 513); AULITZKY (1927: 1407).

²⁰ PORPHYR. *Vita Plot.* 14 (= T 88.1 b D. III).

²¹ PORPHYR. *Vita Plot.* 20 (= T 95.4 D. III); probably the natural life was the *telos*, cf. D. III p. 330.

²² STOB. *Flor.* 1,49,25 p. 349,27; 1,49,25^a p. 351,14-19 W.; EUS. *Praep. ev.* 15,21 (probably after Porphyry); PROCL. *In Plat. remp.* I p. 233,29-234,2 KROLL (= PORPHYR. F 263 SMITH); cf. T 91.2 D III.

²³ Cf. DAM. *In Plat. Phaed.* 1,115 (66c7-8) = T 78.5 D. III; it is uncertain whether this refers to a commentary, cf. D. III p. 191.

²⁴ The work is mentioned several times by Proclus in his commentary on the *Timaeus*. Although he quotes it only for the beginning, it probably was a commentary on the entire dialogue, cf. T 81.17 b D. III with p. 218-219.

²⁵ PORPHYR. *Vita Plot.* 20-21.

²⁶ PORPHYR. *Vita Plot.* 14 (= T 88.1 b D. III). RUHNKEN (1776: LXXVIII) proposes to alter the text and to regard φιλαρχαῖος as a nickname. However, this would imply substantial changes. Therefore, it seems best to take φιλαρχαῖος as a title of an anti-quarian treatise, although it remains uncertain, whether the φιλαρχαῖος meant L. himself, cf. D. III p. 282.

thors Περὶ ἑθνικῶν in the catalogue of the Codex Coisl. 387 (10th cent.)²⁷.

(2) The Suda provides some important information about L.s family. Its origins were in Emesa, though at some time it moved to Athens, cf. also T 3-4. His uncle, from whom L. subsequently acquired an inheritance, was the rhetor Fronto who belonged to the intellectual circles at Athens at the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. He is at any rate grouped with Philostratus II and Apsines of Gadara by the Suda²⁸.

(3-4) Both autobiographical remarks come from L.s Περὶ τέλους. Its preface is quoted by Porphyry at length in his *Vita Plotini*²⁹ to show L.s (τοῦ ἐλλογιμωτάτου ἀνδρός καὶ ἐλεγκτικωτάτου) positive judgement about Plotinus. In it, L. deplores the present lack of philosophers compared with the time when he was young. It is an important testimony for the history of philosophy in the 3rd century A.D.

(5) The section is from Eunapius' life of Porphyry, where L. is mentioned as Porphyry's first teacher. It looks like it is patched together from different sources. The detailed information on L. comes into the text quite abruptly. This is most noticeable in the first sentence. Although the text is sound, the first part of the subordinate clause Λογγίνου μὲν ἦν ἀκροατής (taken up by Λογγῖνος δὲ) does not fit in exactly³⁰. It looks like an attempt to connect two accounts. First, Eunapius speaks about L. as an archaist and an "institution" of literary criticism³¹. Then he goes on to say that Porphyry was given his name by L. It is hard to judge whether this is truth or biographical fiction, since Porphyry in his own account³² does not specify the person who invented the name. The linguistic pun would indeed suit a grammarian. After a sentence on Porphyry's success in learning Eunapius turns back to L.s achievements. Again the transition (with

²⁷ Cf. KROEHNERT (1897: 7; 53); THEODORIDIS (1976: 13-14).

²⁸ Regarding the Suda's confused entries on the various Philostrati (φ 421-423) it is most interesting to see that in this place the Suda speaks of Philostratus I instead of Philostratus II. It might simply be a mistake, although it is perhaps additional evidence for the theory that the Suda's article on Philostratus I is a duplicate. It might, in fact, indicate that Hesychius, the Suda's source, regarded Philostratus II as Philostratus I, as is also suggested by the Suda's remarks at the end of the article on Philostratus II. (φ 421) πλὴν πρώτος ὄφειλει κεῖσθαι.

²⁹ *Vita Plot.* 20,17-104.

³⁰ Therefore, GIANGRANDE includes it in dashes in his edition.

³¹ The exact meaning of the text is difficult to grasp. On first view one would expect ἐπετέτακτο to refer to an office. The following example of Dionysius, however, suggests that this should perhaps not be taken in a strictly technical sense.

³² PORPHYR. *Vita Plot.* 17,6-15.

$\gamma\alpha\rho$) looks slightly odd. It appears altogether that the sentence would be in a better place following the introductory remarks on L. Regarding Eunapius' technique it seems that he broke up his sources into smaller fragments. Perhaps there was a short life of L., on which he could rely, or he simply took over the information on L. from his own history (containing the events from A.D. 270 onwards)³³, which he quotes several times elsewhere in his *Lives*³⁴. There, it could have formed part of L.s obituary. Despite all inconsistencies the information we get on L. is shaped according to a certain pattern of thought. In Porphyry's life L. plays the role of the primary teacher, whereas Plotinus is responsible for the higher education. This may be the reason why Eunapius solely concentrates on L.s rhetorical and anti-quarantine merits omitting his philosophical studies.

(6) Eusebius' excerpt, which is much longer, comes from Porphyry's φιλόλογος ἀκρόασις and describes a discussion about plagiarism. Porphyry makes the conversation take place at a banquet in celebration of Plato's birthday, the *Platoneia*³⁵. The setting is most probably the Academy. Apart from L., who is the host, the intellectual élite of Athens and Porphyry himself are present at the symposium. Even if the entire scene is fictitious, it seems likely that it is modelled on a real event, which took place when Porphyry stayed with Longinus. Therefore, it provides strong evidence that L. was head of the Academy before A.D. 262, the date when Porphyry left him for Rome³⁶. That L. held this post is suggested anyway by his contacts with Plotinus and Porphyry.

(7) Both accounts probably go back to the same ultimate source, which may have been Nicomachus Flavianus. The immediate source of Zosimus (a) appears to be Eunapius' history³⁷, whereas the Historia Augusta (b) seems to be based directly on Nicomachus³⁸. Both sources agree that L. was a political adviser to Zenobia, obviously important enough to be made a scapegoat after her defeat in A.D. 272³⁹. In addition, the Historia Augusta states that L. was supposed

³³ On the relationship between Eunapius' history and his *Lives* cf. PENELLA (1990: 10-14).

³⁴ For a collection of the evidence cf. the edition of Eunapius' fragments by BLOCKLEY (1983).

³⁵ Cf. on it SHEPPARD (1980: 30-31); DÖRRIE II (1990: 238 n. 1).

³⁶ DÖRRIE (1969: 731).

³⁷ Cf. PHOT. *Bibl.* 98 p. 84 b 27-38; PENELLA (1990: 14); on Nicomachus as Eunapius' source see PASCHOUDE (1975: 182-183); BLECKMANN (1992: 23-24; 400).

³⁸ PASCHOUDE (1995: 292-294).

³⁹ On the historical events cf. e.g. MILLAR (1993: 171-173). An English collection of sources is provided by DODGEON LIEU (1991: 68-110).

to be responsible for Zenobia's *superbior epistula* to Aurelian, which it quotes in ch. 27. However, this detail is probably a mere invention by the HA to add some extra flavour to the scene. All in all, L.s picture seems to be tailored to the model of an Imperial secretary.

(8) Libanius' wording seems to suggest that the work called *Odaenathus* was a speech. It was probably written on behalf of Zenobia after Odaenathus' death in A.D. 266/267⁴⁰.

⁴⁰ On Odaenathus' career and death see MILLAR (1971: 8-10); ID. (1993: 157-170); BLECKMANN (1992: 122-129); POTTER (1996: 271-285).

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1092. Helladius of Alexandria

(4th–5th cent. A.D.)

T

- 1 SUDA ε 732 s.v. Ἐλλάδιος, Ἀλεξανδρεύς, γραμματικός, γεγονώς κατὰ Θεοδόσιον τὸν βασιλέα τὸν νέον. λέξεως παντοίας χρῆσιν κατὰ στοιχεῖον, "Ἐκφρασιν φιλοτιμίας, Διόνυσον ἢ Μούσαν, "Ἐκφρασιν τοῦ λουτροῦ Κωνσταντιανῶν, "Ἐπαινον Θεοδόσιον τοῦ βασιλέως.
- 5 2 SOCRAT. *Hist. eccl.* 5,16,6-9.14: ἀπώλοντο γὰρ ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ (A.D. 391) τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων ὀλίγοι, τῶν δὲ Χριστιανῶν σφόδρα πολλοί, οἱ δὲ τραυματίαι ἔξ
έκατέρου μέρους ἦσαν ἀναρίθμητοι. φόβος ἐκ τῶν γεγονότων εἶχεν τοὺς ἑλληνίζοντας δεδοικότας τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὥργήν. πράξαντες γὰρ ἣ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῖς μιαιφονίαις τὸν θυμὸν ἀποσβέσαντες ἄλλος ἄλλαχῃ
10 κατεκρύπτοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἔφυγον κατὰ τὰς πόλεις μεριζόμενοι. ὃν ἦσαν οἱ δύο γραμματικοὶ Ἐλλάδιος καὶ Ἀμμώνιος, παρ' οὓς ἐγὼ κομιδῇ νέος ὃν ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐφοίτησα. Ἐλλάδιος μὲν οὖν
ἰερεὺς τοῦ Διός εἶναι ἔλεγεν, Ἀμμώνιος δὲ πιθήκου. (...) (14) Ἐλλάδιος δὲ παρά τισιν ηὗχει, ως ἐννέα εἴη ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ συμπληγάδι φονεύσας.
- 15 3 COD. THEODOS. 6,21,1: (...) grammaticos Graecos Helladium et Syrianum, Latinum Theophilum, sofistas Martinum et Maximum et iuris peritum Leontium placuit honorari codicillis comitivae ordinis primi iam nunc a nostra maiestate perceptis, ita ut eorum qui sunt ex vicariis dignitate potiantur.
- 20 4 PHOT. *Bibl.* 145 p. 98 b 40: ἀνεγνώσθη λεξικὸν κατὰ στοιχεῖον Ἐλλαδίου, ὃν ἴσμεν λεξικῶν πολυστιχώτατον. οὐ λέξεων δὲ μόνον ἡ συναγωγή, ἀλλ'
ἐνίοτε καὶ κομματικῶν τινῶν χαριεστάτων λόγων καὶ εἰς κώλου πολλάκις σύνθεσιν ἀπαρτιζομένων. πεζοῦ δὲ λόγου ἐστὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τῶν λέξεων, ἀλλ'
οὐχὶ ποιητικοῦ, ὥσπερ ἡ Διογενιανῷ ἐκπονηθεῖσα συλλογή³ οὐδὲ κατὰ πάσας
25 τὰς συλλαβᾶς τὴν τοῦ στοιχείου τάξιν φυλάττει, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μόνην τὴν
ἀρχουσαν. πολύστιχος δὲ οὕτως ἡ συλλογὴ, ὥστε μήδ' εἰς πέντε σύμμετρα

1092. Helladius of Alexandria

(4th–5th cent. A.D.)

T

- 1 Helladius of Alexandria, grammarian, flourished under the Emperor Theodosius II. He wrote a *Compendium of Various Words* in alphabetical order, a *Description of Ambition*, *Dionysus or Muse*, a *Description of the Constantinian Bath*, a *Praise of the Emperor Theodosius*.

- 2 In fact, a few pagans died in the encounter, but very many Christians, and there were innumerable casualties on both sides. From the events fear overcame the pagans, who were afraid of the Emperor's anger. After they had done what they wanted and had appeased their rage by murder, they hid in different places, many even fled from Alexandria and scattered themselves over the cities. Among these were Helladius and Ammonius with whom I studied at Constantinople, when I was very young. Helladius said he was a priest of Zeus, Ammonius that he was a priest of the ape. (...) (11) And Helladius boasted to some that he killed nine men in the encounter.

- 3 It has pleased us to give distinction to the Greek grammarians Helladius and Syrianus, the Latin grammarian Theophilus, the sophists Martinus and Maximus and the lawyer Leontius by codicils of the *comitiva ordinis primi*, which they receive now from our majesty, so that they have the rank of *ex vicarius*.

- 4 I read Helladius' alphabetical dictionary which is the biggest dictionary I know. It comprises not only words, but at times even some very nice expressions, which often form complete short clauses. Most words belong to prose and not to poetry, as in the collection worked out by Diogenianus. He does not observe alphabetical order in all syllables, but only in the first one. The collection is so copious that the whole work does not fit into five normal

³ τοῦ λουτροῦ *codd.* : τῶν λουτρῶν *Küster*

τεύχη τὴν ὅλην πραγματείαν ἀπαρτίζεσθαι· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν ἐπτά τεύχεσιν αὐτῇ
ἐνετύχομεν. χρήσιμον δὲ τὸ βιβλίον τοῖς τε συγγράφουσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλως
πολυμαθίαν τιμῶσιν· ἔχει γάρ καὶ μαρτυρίας ῥητόρων τε καὶ τῶν εἰς
30 ποιητικὴν μέγα κλέος ἔχοντων.

F

ΕΠΑΙΝΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

volumes—I have found it in seven volumes. The book is useful for writers and for anyone else who appreciates learning, since it also contains quotations from orators and very famous poets.

F

PRAISE OF THEODOSIUS THE EMPEROR

1092. Helladius of Alexandria

(4th 5th cent. A.D.)

Introduction

Helladius of Alexandria¹, grammarian and priest of Zeus, took part in the bloody encounters between pagans and Christians, when Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, closed the pagan sanctuaries in A.D. 391. Killing—as he himself boasted—nine men he fled afterwards to Constantinople, where he worked as a teacher of rhetoric. The church historian Socrates tells us that he was H.s pupil (T 2)². Despite his past, he seems to have maintained good relations with the imperial court in later times. He was at any rate honoured by Theodosius II with the *comitiva primi ordinis*, a high rank in the hierarchy of the court (T 3). It may have been on this occasion that he wrote his *Praise of Theodosius*³, which was probably an encomium in prose. Perhaps his *Description of the Bath in Constantinople* is to be viewed against the same background.

Commentary on the Testimonies

(1) In contrast to the oeuvre of his contemporaries Orion (1093) and Orus, H.s works are completely lost. Only a few traces of his comprehensive dictionary survive.

(2) Socrates speaks about the events in Alexandria in A.D. 391 which followed Theodosius I's edict against pagan worship⁴. This led to violent clashes between pagans and Christians culminating in the destruction of the famous Serapion⁵. Both Helladius, priest of Zeus, and Ammonius, priest of Hermes-Toth, were involved in the struggle as members of the pagan élite, and therefore had to emigrate afterwards.

(3) The edict dates to the 1st of March A.D. 425. There seems to be some connection with Theodosius' II famous university reforms⁶, since H. was one of the officially appointed professors⁷. Together with other scholars the pagan H. is accorded the position of a *comes primi ordinis* and *ex vicarius*⁸, which shows the liberal climate at court during these years⁹.

(4) H.s copious book is called λεξικόν (sc. βιβλίον) by Photius, which is the first occurrence of the modern term¹⁰. The title of H.s work was probably χρῆστις παντοίας λέξεως (T 1). There seems to have been a boom of lexicographical studies in Theodosian times. Apart from H. we find the dictionaries of Orion, Orus and Ammonius. All these works are best to be viewed within the context of the academic revival during the reign of Theodosius II and Eudocia. H. might have compiled his work at least partly for the purposes of university teaching¹¹. Thus H.—though often overlooked—is among Stephanus' lat-

⁴ Cf. COD. THEODOS. 16,10,10 and 11.

⁵ Cf. LIPPOLD (1973: 891-892); CHUVIN (1991: 70-72).

⁶ Cf. LIPPOLD (1973: 974); DEMANDT (1989: 367).

⁷ Cf. ALPERS (1981: 93-95); CAMERON (1982: 285-286).

⁸ Cf. on the title DEMANDT (1989: 231-232; 360).

⁹ On the literary milieu cf. also ALPERS (1981: 99).

¹⁰ On PHOT. 145-158, where he describes several dictionaries, see ALPERS (1981: 74), who points out that Photius did not use them for his own work.

¹¹ Quotations from it survive for instance in STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἀγβάτανα: (...) καὶ Ἑλλάδιος ἐν τῷ στοιχείῳ παρέθετο τὸ ἔθνικὸν Ἀγβάτανηνός (...); s.v. Βηρυτός (EUSTATH. SCHOL. DION. PERIEG. 911): (...) ἐκλήθη δὲ διὰ τὸ εὐնδρὸν βῆρ γάρ τὸ φρέαρ παρ' αὐτοῖς. Ἰστιπός δ' ἐν πρώτῃ τὴν ισχὺν βηρούτ Φοίνικας ὄνομάζειν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς Ἑλλάδιος φησιν, and HAUPM (1876: 421-422). In these cases the *Chrestomathia* of his namesake H. of Antaeupolis seems to be excluded, because it was probably not arranged alphabetically, cf. GUDEMAN (1912: 103).

¹ Cf. on H. PLRE II s.v. Helladius (2); SCHMID II 2 (1924: 1075); KASTER (1988: 289). Not only the Suda, but sometimes even the RE produces duplicates. There are two articles on him by GUDEMAN (3) and by SEECK (8) in the RE as there are on Helladius of Antaeupolis (2) and (4).

² See also LEPPIN (1996: 10).

³ GUDEMAN (1912: 102).

est sources. The question is how much material Stephanus derived from him, and whether he used him as extensively as Orus or rather as a secondary source. Since H. is quoted only twice, perhaps the second solution is to be preferred. However, H.s influence may be stronger than we are now able to detect.

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1093. Orion
(4th–5th cent. A.D.?)

T

1 SUDA ω 188 s.v. Ὄριων, Θηβαῖος τῆς Αἰγύπτου, Συναγωγὴν γνωμῶν ἥγουν
Ἀνθολόγιον πρὸς Εὐδοκίαν τὴν βασιλίδα γυναικα Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μικροῦ.
βιβλία γ⁷.

2 SUDA ω 189 s.v. Ὄριων, Ἀλεξανδρεύς, γραμματικός. Ἀνθολόγιον, Ἀττικῶν
λέξεων συναγωγὴν, Περὶ ἐτυμολογίας, Εγκώμιον Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος.

3 MARIN. *Vita Procl.* 8: (...) ἐφοίτησε δε (*sc. Πρόκλος*) καὶ εἰς γραμματικοῦ
Ὄριωνος, ὃς ἦν ἐκ τοῦ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ιερατικοῦ γένους καταγόμενος καὶ
μετριώς τὰ τῆς τέχνης ἐπεσκεμμένος οὖτως, ὥστε καὶ συγγραμμάτια ἔαντο
ἴδια ἐκπονήσαι καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἔαντὸν χρήσιμα καταλιπεῖν.

F

ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ

⁷ οὐ post καὶ suppl. Immisch (1889: 167), sed. cf. Men. Epitr. 60 [236]

1093. Orion
(4th–5th cent. A.D.?)

T

1 Orion, of Thebes in Egypt. He wrote a *Collection of Gnomai* or an *Anthology*, dedicated to the Empress Eudocia, wife of Theodosius II, in three books.

2 Orion, of Alexandria, grammarian. An *Anthology*, an *Atticistic Dictionary*, *On Etymology*, an *Encomium on the Emperor Hadrian*.

3 He (*sc. Proclus*) also went to the school of Orion, the grammarian, who belonged to the caste of Egyptian priests and knew his profession so well that he also composed some treatises of his own and left them to posterity for its benefit.

F

ENCOMIUM ON THE EMPEROR HADRIAN

1093. Orion
(4th 5th cent. A.D.?)

Introduction

The evidence on Orion of Alexandria, author of an *Encomium on Hadrian*, poses some difficulties. The problem hinges on how to interpret the two respective entries in the Suda, the question being whether there are really two O.s or only one. The first entry (T 1) refers to the well-known grammarian O. from the Egyptian Thebes, who lived at the times of Theodosius II. The second entry (T 2), which shows all signs of a duplicate, mentions an unknown grammarian O. of Alexandria. If there were really two O.s from Egypt, the only title we can attribute to O. of Alexandria is the *Encomium on Hadrian*. In this case one would suppose him to be an author living in the times of Hadrian, who wrote a piece on Hadrian when the emperor visited Alexandria¹. If the entry refers to the grammarian O. living in the 4th-5th century A.D., one has to explain the fact how he came to write an *Encomium on Hadrian*. Although several historical works dating roughly to the same period include Hadrian, the *Historia Augusta*, for instance, and the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, no encomium on him or any other emperor, written a long time after the emperor's death can be found. However, our evidence on encomia is altogether scanty, and it is perhaps not impossible that a later grammarian composed a show piece on Hadrian. In view of the fact that the rest of the entry seems to refer to O. of Thebes, I would prefer this hypothesis to postulating a second unknown grammarian².

Commentary on the Testimonies

(1) The entry on O. of Thebes, whose gnomological collection and etymological dictionary are still extant in a somewhat mutilated form, is blameless. O. probably presented his *Anthology* to the empress at the court in Constantinople. Although the evidence for a sojourn of O. in this city is slight, it seems to me that the most suitable time for the dedication of a work to Eudocia is the time of her marriage to Theodosius II (~ A.D. 421-441) and not the time after her divorce from him³. Accordingly, Tzetzes' statement⁴ that the empress Eudocia was a pupil of O. should not be impugned⁵. Many pagan intellectuals—especially from Alexandria—flocked to Constantinople at the turn of the 4th-5th century⁶, as for instance Helladius (1092), Ammonius and Olympiodorus. Thus, there is no reason why O. should not have stayed in the capital for some time.

(2) The Ἀνθολόγιον is the same as the one mentioned in T 1. The Ἀττικῶν λέξεων συναγωγή does not belong to O. at all, but to the grammarian Orus of Alexandria, who also lived in the 4th-5th century A.D. The title is clearly an intrusion from the entry on Orus, which follows the two entries on O.⁷ The etymological dictionary, parts of which survive, is again a work of O. of Thebes. All in all, it seems quite likely that the entire entry refers to him and that there is only one O. from Egypt. It is no obstacle to this hypothesis that O. is said to be from Alexandria, since O. of Thebes taught there at some time (T 3) and the names of places, where someone is said to have lived, often vary in the tradition. Thus, O. of Thebes is also called a γραμματικός Καισαρείας in the main manuscripts of his works⁸.

³ Contra CAMERON (1982: 280-281).

⁴ TZETZ. Chil. 10,50-53.

⁵ Pace KASTER (1988: 322-323).

⁶ Cf. ALPERS (1981: 93-94).

⁷ Cf. ALPERS (1981: 97-98), who restores the entry on Orus as follows (p. 144): Ὁρος· Ἀλεξανδρεύς, γραμματικός, παιδεύσας ἐν Κωνσταντίνου πόλει. ἔγραψε Περὶ διχρόνων, "Οπως τὰ ἑθνικὰ λεκτέον, Λύσεις προτάσεων τῶν Ἡρωδιανοῦ, Πίνακα τῶν ἔαντοῦ, Περὶ ἐγκλιτικῶν μορίων, Ὁρθογραφίαν κατὰ στοιχείον περὶ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου, Ὁρθογραφίαν περὶ τῆς αἱ διφθόγγου <κατά στοιχείον, Ἀττικῶν λέξεων συναγωγὴν> κατὰ στοιχείον, [Ἀνθολόγιον περὶ γνωμῶν]. The last title belongs to O. On the mechanical origin of such mistakes cf. also ALPERS (1981: 88 n. 8).

⁸ Cf. ALPERS (1981: 96 n. 52). It remains uncertain whether Caesarea in Cappadocia or in Palestine is meant. Perhaps the one in Palestine is slightly preferable, cf. KASTER (1988: 324).

¹ Cf. KASTER (1988: 324-325); PERNOT I (1993: 77); BIRLEY (1997: 82 n. 16).

² Cf. WENDEL (1939: 1083-1084).

(3) According to Marinus his teacher Proclus studied with O. at Alexandria in about A.D. 425⁹. This may indicate how the variant Ἀλεξανδρεύς in the Suda could have originated.

⁹ Cf. KASTER (1988: 324).

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II

UNDATED AUTHORS

1094. Anaxilaus

F

1 (*FHG II*, p. 84) DIOG. LAERT. 1,106: λέγεται δὴ πρός τινος Ἀναχάρσιδος πυνθανομένου εἴ τις αὐτοῦ σοφώτερος εἴη, τὴν Πυθίαν εἰπεῖν (...) (no. 245 PARKE – WORMELL).

- Oītaión tinvá φημι Μύσωνα ἐν Χηνὶ γενέσθαι
5 σοῦ μᾶλλον πραπίδεσσιν ἀρηρότα πευκαλίμησι.
(...) ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν οὕτως ἔχειν φασί, “Ἡτεῖόν tinvá φημι” καὶ ζητοῦσι
τί ἐστιν ὁ Ἡτεῖος. Παρμενίδης μὲν οὖν δῆμον εἶναι Λακωνικῆς, ὅθεν εἶναι τὸν
Μύσωνα. Σωσικράτης δ' ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, ἀπὸ μὲν πατρὸς Ἡτεῖον εἶναι, ἀπὸ δὲ
μητρὸς Χηνέα. Εὐθύφρων δ' ὁ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ (F 18 WEHRLI VII).
10 Κρήτα φησιν εἶναι. Ἡτείαν γὰρ πόλιν εἶναι Κρήτης. Ἀναξίλαος δ' Ἀρκάδα.

Uncertain Fragment

- 2** DION. HAL. *Ant. Rom.* 1,1,1: τοὺς εἰωθότας ἀποδίδοσθαι τοῖς προοιμίοις τῶν
ιστοριῶν λόγους ἥκιστα βουλόμενος ἀναγκάζομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ προειπεῖν.
οὐť ἐν τοῖς ιδίοις μέλλων πλεονάζειν ἐποίνοις (...) οὐτε διαβολὰς καθ' ἔτερων
ἐγνωκῶς ποιεῖσθαι συγγραφέων, ὡσπερ ἦντας τοῦ Αναξίλαος[†] καὶ Θεόπομπος (115 F
15 24) ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις τῶν ιστοριῶν ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ λογισμοὺς
ἀποδεικνύμενος (...).

² εἰπεῖν *BFP* : ἀνειπεῖν *Casaubonus* : ἀνελεῖν *Richards* ⁷ Παρμενίδης *codd.* : Παρμενίσκος
Erbse (1976: 234) ¹¹ τοῖς *codd.* : ἐν τοῖς *Stephanus* ¹⁴ Ἀναξίλαος *codd.* : Ἀναξιμένης *Müller*,
FHG II, p. 84; cf. *FGrHist* 72 F1

1094. Anaxilaus

F

1 According to some, the Pythia, when asked by Anacharsis if there was anyone wiser than himself, gave the answer (...): “Myson, an Oetaean, I say, has been born in Chen who surpasses you in wisdom.” (...) But others say the oracle runs thus: “Myson, an Eteian, I say”, and inquire into the meaning of Eteian. Parmenides for instance says it was a Laconian district from which Myson came. Sosicrates in his *Diadochai* says that Myson is from Etis on his father’s side and from Chen on his mother’s. Euthyphron, son of Heraclides Ponticus, says he was a Cretan, since Eteia was a town on Crete. Anaxilaus regards him as an Arcadian.

Uncertain Fragment

- 2** Although I do not wish it in the least, I have to make the preliminary remarks about myself which are usually to be found in the prefaces of histories. I do so neither in order to dwell excessively on my own merits (...) nor with the intention of disparaging other writers, as did †Anaxilaus[†] and Theopompus in the prefaces of their histories, but in order to lay down my own principles (...).

1094. Anaxilaus

Introduction

Anaxilaus remains obscure. Perhaps he is the *Pythagoricus* and *magus* A. of Larissa¹, who was banished from Rome by Augustus in 28 B.C.². Although this author is otherwise known only for alchemical treatises³, he might easily be credited with some pseudo-scientific remarks on one of the Seven Sages. A. is possibly also to be identified with Anaxilides (1095). At any rate, the information on Myson would fit well into a history of philosophy⁴.

Commentary on the Fragments

(1) The discussion about Myson's birthplace is caused by a *varia lectio* – Ἡτεῖος instead of Οἰταῖος—in the text of the oracle on Myson. The information may be derived from Didymus' Σύμμικτα συμποσιακά⁵. This would also roughly square with the hypothesis that A., who is mentioned last in line, is identical with Anaxilaus of Larissa. Apart from Sosicrates, all references are quite obscure. It is difficult to see where Parmenides should have spoken about Myson, but the assumption that the philosopher's name is a corruption of that of the grammarian Παρμενίσκος⁶, does not much improve the case. It remains equally uncertain what is to be made of the reference to Euthyphron, son of Heraclides Ponticus. Unfortunately Heraclides' son is not attested elsewhere. The question is whether the quotation is correct, and if it is, whether Euthyphron should be regarded as an author. It seems to me that the information on Myson might be derived rather from Heraclides Ponticus, who is known to have written on oracles.

¹ SCHWARTZ (1894: 2083); SCHMID II 1 (1920: 377); WELLMANN (1928: 66); DÖRRIE (1990: 405). See against it, however, TARÁN (1970: 150) and (1981: 233).

² HIER. *Chron. sub anno 28 B.C. p. 163,26-164,2* HELM: *Anaxilaus Larisaeus Pythagoricus et magus ab Augusto urbe Italiaque pellitur*. On Augustus' measures see also KIENAST (1982: 219).

³ Cf. PLIN. *Nat. hist.* 19,20; 25,154; 28,181; 30,74; 32,141; 35,175. He is also referred to in the lists of sources of several books, cf. also KROLL (1935: 5-7).

⁴ Apart from Diogenes Laertius see also Damon of Cyrene, the pupil of Lacydes, who is said to have inveighed against the Seven Sages in his work entitled Περὶ φιλοσόφων, cf. DIOG. LAERT. 1,40; and CLASSEN (1965: 175-181).

⁵ Cf. STEPH. BYZ. s.v. Ἡτίς; ERBSE (1976: 234).

⁶ ERBSE (1976: 234).

The reference to Euthyphron, son of Heraclides, could be either a corruption of Heraclides, son of Euthyphron, or Heraclides might have introduced Euthyphron as a speaker in his work. The Cretan Ἡτεία is probably identical with Σήτεια⁷. A. is only quoted for the statement that Myson was an Arcadian. There is indeed a place called Etis in the Peloponnese, but it does not lie in Arcadia, but in Laconia⁸. Perhaps A. mistakenly located it in Arcadia.

(2) It is most likely that the textual tradition which gives Ἀναξίλαος is corrupt and that it should be corrected to Ἀναξιμένης⁹. One would expect Dionysius to refer to famous historians like Anaximenes and Theopompus in the prologue of his history, and not to an obscure contemporary author.

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⁷ Cf. DITTENBERGER on *Syll.* 3 524,14.

⁸ See on Etis PAUS. 3,22,11-13; and PHILIPPSON (1907: 718); LIPPOLD (1929: 1324).

⁹ Cf. MÜLLER, *FHG* II, p.84: “(...) malum intelligi Anaximenem, virum uti constat maledicentissimum. ΛΑ et M litterae facillime confunduntur.”

1095. Anaxilides

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ Α-Β (-?)

- 1 (FHG II, p. 316) (a) DIOG. LAERT. 3,2: Σπεύσιππος (F 147 ISNARDI PARENTE; F 1 a TARÁN) δ' ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Πλάτωνος περιδείπνῳ καὶ Κλέαρχος (F 2 a WEHRLI III) ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνος ἔγκωμί καὶ Ἀναξιλίδης ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ φιλοσόφων φασίν, ὡς Ἀθήνησιν ἦν λόγος, ὥραιαν οὖσαν τὴν
 5 Περικτιόνην βιάζεσθαι τὸν Ἀρίστωνα καὶ μὴ τυγχάνειν· πανύμενόν τε τῆς βίας ιδεῖν τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὅψιν· ὅθεν καθαρὰν γάμου φυλάξαι ἕως τῆς ἀποκυήσεως. (b) HIER. ADV. IOVIN. 1,42 p. 384 BICKEL: Speusippus (F 148 ISNARDI PARENTE; F 1 b TARÁN) quoque sororis Platonis filius et Clearcūs (F 2 b WEHRLI III) in laude Platonis et Anaxilides in secundo libro
 10 philosophiae Perictionem, matrem Platonis, fasmate Apollinis oppressam ferunt, et sapientiae principem non aliter arbitrantur nisi de partu virginis editum.

¹⁻³ Σπεύσιππος ... Κλέαρχος codd.: Κλέαρχ- ... Σπεύσ- C.F. Hermann collato Diog. Laert. 4,5, sed cf. T 2b ³ Ἀναξιλίδης FP^c: Ἀναξιλήδης B : Ἀναξιλείδης Lang : Ἀναξιλαΐδης Cobet, sed cf. T 2b ⁴ ἦν FP : om. B ⁵ τυγχάνειν BP : ἐπιτυγχ- F ⁹ Anaxilides AC : Amax- ES₅ ¹⁰ fasmatae ES : phantasmate (f- A) çAC

1095. Anaxilides

F

ON PHILOSOPHERS 1-2 (-?)

- 1 (a): Speusippus, in his work entitled *Plato's Funeral Banquet*, Clearchus, in his *Encomium on Plato*, and Anaxilides, in his second book *About Philosophers*, say that the story went at Athens that Ariston tried unsuccessfully to take Perictione by force, when she was in bloom and, abstaining from violence, beheld the apparition of Apollo. Therefore, he left her untouched, until she gave birth to a child. (b) Speusippus, Plato's nephew, and Clearchus, in his *Encomium on Plato*, and Anaxilides, in the second book *On Philosophy*, also tell us that Plato's mother was overwhelmed by the apparition of Apollo, and they think that the wisest of men was born in no other way than by virgin birth.

1095. Anaxilides

Introduction

Anaxilides¹, writer of a history of philosophy, has been identified with Anaxilaus (1094)², who in turn was thought to be Anaxilaus of Larissa. In fact, it is quite remarkable that both authors should only be quoted by Diogenes and moreover seem to treat similar subjects. Their identity, however, cannot be proven in a strict sense³. The title of A.s work was either Περὶ φιλοσόφων, or perhaps Περὶ φιλοσοφίας. The latter variant seems to be suggested by Jerome's Latin rendering *libro philosophiae*, which, however, might also be due simply to negligence on Jerome's part⁴.

Commentary on the Fragment

(1) Plato's special relationship with Apollo is a commonplace of his biography. It culminates in the statement that the philosopher is a son of the god, which seems to go back to some encomiastic remarks on the part of Speusippus⁵. Although Diogenes' and Jerome's accounts are slightly different—Jerome, above all, stresses the virgin birth, a concept which would come easily to a Christian author, whereas in

¹ The Greek spelling of his name is either Ἀναξιλίδης or Ἀναξιλείδης, cf. LANG (1911: 61). COBET's change to Ἀναξιλαῖδης, which was accepted by SCHWARTZ (1894: 2083) and SCHMID II 1 (1920: 377), is unnecessary. Because Jerome also gives *Anaxilides*, we should keep to the Greek phonetical equivalent. Theoretically the form Ἀνοξιλαῖδης is of course possible, cf. FRASER — MATTHEWS I s.v. Ἀναξιλαος, Ἀναξιλείδας, Δεξιλαος, Δεξιλείδης, Περίλαος, Περιλείδης, Στριλεως, Στρισλείδης, but Ἀρχελαος, Ἀρχελαῦδης, Ἀριστολαΐδης, Νικόλαος, Νικόλειδης, Νικολείδης.

² In some cases both the basic form of the name and its derivation with the patronymikon -ίδης are used alternatively, cf. RADERMACHER (1908: 455); RADT on AESCHYL. test. 58 a-b.

³ Cf. TARÁN (1970: 150).

⁴ TARÁN (1981: 234 n. 23).

⁵ For parallels cf. e.g. PLUT. *Quaest. conv.* 8,1,2 p. 717 E; APUL. *Plat.* 1,1; ORIG. *Cels.* 6,8; OLYMP. *Comm. in Alc.* I, p. 2 WESTERINK; SUDA π 1707 s.v. Πλάτων; see also LEO (1901: 93 n. 2); USENER (1911: 72); SWIFT RIGINOS (1976: 9-15); ISNARDI PARENTE (1980: 385-387); TARÁN (1981: 234-235); DÖRRIE II (1990: 405-408).

Diogenes Ariston's behaviour is prominent⁶—, the introductory doxography shows that they must be related in some way. Jerome's immediate source is probably Porphyry's *History of Philosophy*, as it is elsewhere⁷. The possibility that he depends directly on Diogenes should be excluded⁸. Porphyry and Diogenes must then go back to one common source, but since the story about Plato's birth is so popular, it is impossible to identify this source with any certainty⁹. The only thing we can say is that it had a doxographical character and that, if A. is Anaxilaus of Larissa, it must date to Imperial times.

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⁶ TARÁN (1981: 228) rightly points out that Perictione is called ώραια in reference to lawful marriage, the situation being that of an ἔγγυη, and that in this way Ariston's behaviour—in the eyes of the Greeks—was justified. As a husband he tried to consummate his marriage.

⁷ BICKEL (1915: 133-141).

⁸ Contra TARÁN (1981: 233).

⁹ BICKEL (1915: 137) suggests without convincing reasons that it was Thrasyllus.

1096. Antiphon

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ EN APETHI ΠΡΩΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΩΝ

- 1 (a)** PORPHYR. *Vita Pyth.* 7-8: 'Αντιφῶν δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν ἐν ἀρετῇ πρωτευσάντων καὶ τὴν καρτερίαν αὐτοῦ (*sc.* Πυθαγόρου) τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διηγεῖται λέγων τὸν Πυθαγόραν ἀποδεξάμενον τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ιερέων τὴν ἀγωγὴν σπουδάσαντά τε μετασχεῖν ταύτης δεηθῆναι Πολυκράτους τοῦ 5 τυράννου γράψαι πρὸς Ἀμασιν τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Αἰγύπτου, φίλον ὄντα καὶ ξένον, ἵνα κοινωνήσῃ τῆς τῶν προειρημένων παιδείας, ἀφικόμενον δὲ πρὸς Ἀμασιν λαβεῖν γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς ιερέας καὶ συμμίχαντα τοῖς Ἡλιουπολίταις ἐκπεμφῆναι μὲν εἰς Μέμφιν ὡς πρὸς πρεσβυτέρους — τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ σκηπτομένων τῶν Ἡλιουπολιτῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα —, ἐκ δὲ Μέμφεως κατὰ 10 τὴν ὁμοίαν σκῆψιν πρὸς Διοσπολίτας ἐλθεῖν. (8) τῶν δ' οὐ δυναμένων προΐσχεσθαι αἰτίας διὰ τὸ δέος τοῦ βασιλέως, νομίσαντων δ' ἐν τῷ μεγέθει τῆς κακοπαθείας ἀποστῆσειν αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, προστάγματα σκληρὰ καὶ 15 κεχωρισμένα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς κελεῦσαι ύπομειναι αὐτόν. τὸν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκτελέσαντα προθύμως οὕτως θαυμασθῆναι, ὡς ἐπ' ἔξουσίᾳ θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσέναι ταῖς τούτων ἐπιμελείαις, ὅπερ ἐπ' ἄλλου ξένου γεγονὸς οὐχ εύρισκεται.
- (b)** DIOG. LAERT. 8,3: ἐγένετ' οὖν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ὀπηνίκα καὶ Πολυκράτης αὐτὸν Ἀμάσιδι συνέστησε δι' ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ ἔξεμαθε τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν, καθά φησιν Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἐν ἀρετῇ πρωτευσάντων.

¹ ἐν² Cyr. Iul. 10, 340 E (*cf. etiam T 1b*) : ἐπ' codd. ⁵ ὄντα Cyr. : τε codd. ⁶ κοινωνήσῃ Cyr. : -νῇ codd. ⁸⁻⁹ Ἡλιουπολ- codd. (*bis*) : Ἡλιοπολ- Nauck, sed *cf. Pape Benseler s.v.* ⁸ δ' codd. : γ Westermann ⁹ σκηπτομένων Rittershausen : σκεπτ- codd. ¹¹ δ' ἐν codd. : δὲ L. Mendelssohn, sed *cf. KG I, p. 464-465.* ¹² ἐπιβολῆς B²MW : -βουλῆς B (*fortasse*) VL ¹⁴ ἐπ' ἔξουσίᾳ B (*cf. des Places p. 19*) : ἔξουσίαν λαβεῖν MVWL

1096. Antiphon

F

ON THE LIFE OF THE CHAMPIONS OF VIRTUE

1 (a) Antiphon in his book *On the Life of the Champions of Virtue* also describes how he (*sc.* Pythagoras) endured a hard life in Egypt. Since Pythagoras, he says, held the discipline of the Egyptian priests in high regard and wanted to share it, he asked the tyrant Polycrates to write to the Egyptian king Amasis, his friend and host, that he might be admitted to the education of the aforesaid. When he came to Amasis, he received letters to give to the priests and first joined those at Heliopolis. They sent him to the priests of Memphis whom the Heliopolitans said were more ancient—in reality it was only a pretext—, and from Memphis he went under the same pretext to the priests of Diospolis. Since the latter could not put forward any excuses out of fear of the king, but thought that they might avert him from his endeavour through the enormity of the sufferings, they ordered him to submit himself to tasks which were hard and alien to the Greek way of life. He, however, fulfilled them willingly and gained so much admiration by it that he was given permission to offer sacrifices to the gods and to join their services, which is something not known to have been permitted to any other stranger.

(b) He was in Egypt at some time—this was the time when Polycrates introduced him to Amasis with a letter—and learned their language, as Antiphon says in his book *On the Champions of Virtue*.

1096. Antiphon

Introduction

There may be some grounds for dating Antiphon to the Hellenistic period. A *terminus post quem* seems to be provided by his mention of Diospolis. Since Diospolis, the Greek name for Egyptian Thebes, originated under Ptolemaic rule¹, A. cannot have lived much earlier than the 3rd century B.C. Moreover it is quite remarkable that A.'s account, even though it is concerned with Pythagoras' virtuous behaviour, lacks the strong hagiographic tendency which we find in the Neo-Pythagorean sources. Pythagoras asks Polycrates, the Samian tyrant, for a letter of recommendation, and it is granted willingly. This story obviously implies—in marked contrast to later tradition—that both were on friendly terms with one another². Pythagoras is usually said to have left home because of his opposition to Polycrates³. In addition, A.'s version does not fit into the usual chronological framework of Pythagoras' life⁴, which we find in later authors and in which Pythagoras' departure for Italy (532/31 B.C.) is synchronized with the beginning of Polycrates' reign. Since this synchronization was made canonical first by Apollodorus of Athens (2nd cent. B.C.)⁵, A. might well be thought to antedate this author. Finally, the source used by Porphyry in §§ 1-9 of his *Life of Pythagoras*, apart from Apollonius (1064), only contains quotations from Hellenistic authors⁶. This may also indicate that A. belongs to the same period⁷. As the title *On the Life of the Champions of Virtue* and the content of the

¹ Cf. STRAB. *Geogr.* 17,1,46 p. 815 C.: οἱ Θῆβαι ... καλεῖται δὲ νῦν Διός πόλις; see also KEESS (1934: 1557). The first dated appearance of the name is in 264 B.C., cf. PREISIGKE KISSLING (1963) no. 8965 (and 8966; 9416).

² DELATTE (1922: 152).

³ Cf. e.g. STRAB. *Geogr.* 14,1,16 p. 638 C.: ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόραν ιστοροῦσιν ιδόντα φυμένην τὴν τυραννίδα ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Βαθυλῶνα φιλομαθείας χάριν ἐπανιόντα δ' ἐκείθεν, ὥρωντα ἔτι συμμένουσαν τὴν τυραννίδα, πλεύσαντα εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐκεὶ διατελέσαι τὸν βίον.

⁴ DELATTE (1922: 151-153).

⁵ JACOBY (1902: 215-227) and his commentary on *FGrHist* 244 F 338-339 on the various chronologies. Strabo loc. cit. tries to combine the different versions.

⁶ On Porphyry's sources see 1063. NICOMACHUS F 1; and ROHDE (1901: 125-126) and (1914: 272 n. 2); LÉVY (1926: 92); BURKERT (1962: 86-90).

⁷ ROHDE (1901: 125).

fragment show, A.'s work contained biographical material on several people, probably philosophers, since ἀρετή and καρτερία seem to be specifically related to them. Yet the exact form and scope remain uncertain: The leading principle in its arrangement may have been either the individual lives or the different virtues. In the first case, it was a collection of biographies, in the second, it was more of a philosophical treatise, in which the behaviour of famous men was used to illustrate different aspects of a virtuous life.

Commentary on the Fragment

(1) (a) Porphyry expressly quotes A. for Pythagoras' sojourn in Egypt. The fragment should thus end with § 8⁸, since in § 9 Pythagoras' return to Samos is described. Although the sentence runs on in the acc. c. inf., this construction is probably due to the collective source which combined the statements of various authors. (b) Diogenes' version slightly differs from the one given by Porphyry: He tells us that Pythagoras was in Egypt and learned the Egyptian language, whereas Porphyry stresses that Pythagoras was initiated into the Egyptian cult. Perhaps A.'s account contained both aspects. As to the story, a personal visit of Pythagoras to Egypt is not attested before Isocrates⁹, although most of its ingredients are at least as old as Herodotus. Herodotus mentions the ξενία between Polycrates and Amasis¹⁰, and he is also the first to state a connection between Pythagorean doctrine and Egyptian wisdom¹¹. In fact, it seems to me that A. possibly knew Herodotus' book on Egypt, since Herodotus' report of his own visit to the same centers of Egyptian cult is strikingly similar¹², and that A. shaped his story about Pythagoras accordingly.

⁸ DELATTE (1922: 151); contra ROHDE (1914: 272 n. 2); BURKERT (1962: 139 n. 237; 177 n. 17) who also attribute § 9 to A.

⁹ ISOCHR. *Or.* 11,28 (= 14,4 DK): Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος (...) δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἴγυπτον μαθῆτης ἐκείνων γενόμενος τὴν τε ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν πρώτος εἰς τοὺς "Ἐλληνας ἔκομισεν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἀγιστείας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ιεροῖς ἐπιφανέστερον τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπούδασεν (...).

¹⁰ HERODOT. 3,39,2; 3,40-43; cf. BERVE (1967: 112); SHIPLEY (1987: 86; 91).

¹¹ HERODOT. 2,81; 2,123 (= 14,1 DK).

¹² HERODOT. 2,3: ἦκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν Μέμφι ἐλθόντων ἐξ λόγους τοῖσι ιερεῦσι τοῦ Ἡφαιστοῦ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐξ Θῆβας τε καὶ ἐξ Τάλιον πόλιν αὐτῶν τούτων εἴνεκεν ἐτραπόμην, ἐθέλων εἰδέναι εἰ συμβίσσονται τοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι· οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιοπολῖται λέγονται Αἴγυπτιαν εἶναι λογιώτατοι.

Thus, he seems to have elaborated more fully on the basis of his own reading what could be called the 4th-century historical vulgata on Pythagoras.

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1097. Apollodorus

F

- 1 (a)** PLUT. *Non posse suav. vivi sec. Epic.* 11 p. 1094 B: καὶ Πυθαγόρας ἐπὶ τῷ διαγράμματι βοῦν ἔθυσεν, ὡς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος (ANTH. GR. 7,119):
ἡνίκα Πυθαγόρης τὸ περικλεές εὑρέτο γράμμα
κεῖνος ἐφ' φι λαμπρὴν ἥγαγε βουθυσίνην
- 5 εἴτε περὶ τῆς ὑποτεινόσης ὡς ἵσον δύναται ταῖς περιεχούσαις τὴν ὄρθην, εἴτε [πρόβλημα] περὶ τοῦ χωρίου τῆς παραβολῆς.
- (b) ATHEN. 10,13 p. 418 F: Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ὁ ἀριθμητικὸς καὶ θῦσαι φησιν αὐτὸν (*sc.* Πυθαγόραν) ἐκατόμβην ἐπὶ τῷ εὐρητηκέναι ὅτι τριγώνου ὄρθογωνίου <ἢ> τὴν ὄρθην γωνίαν ὑποτείνουσα ἵσον δύναται ταῖς περιεχούσαις:
- 10 ἡνίκα Πυθαγόρης τὸ περικλεές εὑρέτο γράμμα,
κλεινός ἐφ' φι κλεινὴν ἥγαγε βουθυσίνην.
- (c) DIOG. LAERT. 8,12: φησὶ δ' Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ λογιστικὸς ἐκατόμβην θῦσαι αὐτὸν (*sc.* Πυθαγόραν), εὑρόντα ὅτι τοῦ τριγώνου ὄρθογωνίου ἡ ὑποτείνουσα πλευρὰ ἵσον δύναται ταῖς περιεχούσαις, καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίγραμμα οὕτως ἔχον:
- 15 ἡνυκε Πυθαγόρης: τὸ περικλεές εὔρατο γράμμα
κεῖν' ἐφ' ὅτῳ κλεινὴν ἥγαγε βουθυσίνην.
- (d) DIOG. LAERT. 1,24 : παρά τε Αἰγυπτίων γεωμετρεῖν μαθόντα (*sc.* Θαλῆν, 11 A 1 DK, I p. 68,12) φησὶ Παμφίλη (FHG III, p. 520) πρῶτον καταγράψαι κύκλου τὸ τρίγωνον ὄρθογώνιον, καὶ θῦσαι βοῦν. οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόραν φασίν, ὃν
20 ἔστιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ λογιστικός.

² ἀπολλόδωρος ΧΓ : -δοτος Π ⁴ κεῖνος Χ : κεῖνος Π : κεῖν' Γ || ἥγαγε Athen. : Plut. ἥγαγετο ΧΓ : ἥγετο Π ⁶ πρόβλημα del. Madvig ⁹ ἡ add. Mus. ¹⁴ ἔχον F : ἔγον P¹: ἔργον B ¹⁵ ἡνυκε Diog. : ἡνίκε Anth. Gr. A^{ac} in ἡνυκε mut. C qui γρ. ἡνίκα superscripsit || post Πυθαγόρης interpunkt, post περικλεές edd. || εὔρατο BPF : εὑρέτο Anth. Gr. ¹⁶ κεῖν' ἐφ' ὅτῳ BP, Anth. Gr. C (κ' εἰ? ἐφότῳ A^{ac}) : ἐκεῖν' ἐφότῳ F || κλεινὴν BPF Anth. Gr. P : κλειτὴν Anth. Gr. Pl^MP^{la} ¹⁷⁻²⁰ Vide etiam Call. F 191,59 sq. Pfeiffer ¹⁷⁻¹⁸ γεωμετρεῖν μαθόντα φησὶ Παμφίλη BP : μ. φ. Π. γεωμετρίαν F

1097. Apollodorus

F

- 1 (a)** And Pythagoras offered an ox upon the discovery of the geometrical figure, as Apollodorus says:

When Pythagoras found the famous figure,
whereupon he sacrificed a splendid ox.

either discovering that the square of the hypotenuse is equal to that of the sides, or discovering the surface of the parabola.

- (b)** According to Apollodorus, the mathematician, he (*sc.* Pythagoras) even sacrificed an ox, when he discovered that in the right-angled triangle the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the square of the sides:

When the splendid Pythagoras found the famous figure,
whereupon he sacrificed a splendid ox.

- (c)** According to Apollodorus, the mathematician, he (*sc.* Pythagoras) sacrificed a hecatomb, when he discovered that in a right-angled triangle the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the square of the sides: And there is an epigram running as follows:

Accomplished by Pythagoras: he discovered that glorious figure
whereupon he sacrificed a famous ox.

- (d)** According to Pamphila he (*sc.* Thales) was instructed in geometry by the Egyptians and was the first to inscribe a right-angled triangle into a circle, whereupon he sacrificed an ox. Others tell the same story of Pythagoras, amongst them Apollodorus, the mathematician.

1097. Apollodorus

Introduction

Apollodorus the mathematician has been identified with the equally obscure A. of Cyzicus, who is quoted by Diogenes on the friendship of the Pythagorean Philolaus and Democritus¹, on the basis that Cyzicus was associated with the study of mathematics ever since Eudoxus of Cnidus (~ 391-338 b.c.). Hence A. has been dated to the 4th century b.c.² However, his identification with A. of Cyzicus is hard to prove. Despite his obscurity, A. is nevertheless of great importance for the history of Pythagoreanism. If A. is a genuine early author, his epigram is the first evidence that Pythagorean vegetarianism was not yet a dogma in the early tradition, but only became so in later times³. If he is not, Aristoxenus (*fl.* ~ 330 b.c.) is the first to claim that Pythagoras did not adhere strictly to vegetarianism, but only avoided the slaughter of the plough-ox and the ram⁴, thus challenging a prevailing opinion. Perhaps there is no satisfactory answer to this question, but it appears to me that the problem is best tackled by asking at what stage and by whom A.s epigram could have been introduced into the biographical tradition on Pythagoras. I would suggest that it came in not before Aristoxenus and his contemporary Dicaearchus. In fact, the content of the epigram seems to have been discussed by one of them, as some remarks in Porphyry could be taken to indicate⁵. There we read that οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι solved the problem of the ox by maintaining that it was fake, being made of dough. The expression οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι occurs on another occasion in Porphyry in connection with Dicaearchus⁶, and one might assume that Dicaearchus was involved in the debate. Aristoxenus, however, would be a suitable candidate, too, since the epigram is evidence, if not for his own position, then at least against the opinion that Pythagoras was a vegetarian. He may have modified the content of the

¹ DIOG. LAERT. 9,38; DK 74; and HUFFMAN (1993: 4).

² SUSEMHL II (1892: 33); BURKERT (1962: 405 n. 8).

³ Cf. BURKERT (1962: 405).

⁴ Cf. ARISTOXENUS F 29 a (= DIOG. LAERT. 8,20); F 25; 28 WEHRLI II; and 58 B 19 DK; DELATTE (1922: 173-174); BURKERT (1962: 167-168).

⁵ PORPHYR. *Vita Pyth.* 36: ἔβονθιντησεν δέ ποτε στάιτνον ὡς φασι βοῦν οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι, ἐξευρών τού ὄρθογωνίου τὴν ὑποτείνουσαν ἵσον δυναμένην ταῖς περιεχούσαις.

⁶ PORPHYR. *Vita Pyth* 56: Δικαιαρχὸς καὶ οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι κτλ. (= F 34 WEHRLI I).

epigram in the course of his discussion. The question is then whether the assumption that A. was adduced by the Hellenistic biographers implies that he is a genuine author. On first view the fact that A. is qualified as a mathematician would seem to suggest this. It is, however, missing in Plutarch (a), and a mathematician is exactly what one would expect the author of such statement to be. It could therefore be argued that his profession is either invented to suit his remarks or is inferred from them in the later tradition. All in all, it is clear that the opinion one forms of A.s person is dependent on the notion one has about the trustworthiness of the Hellenistic biographers of Pythagoras. In view of their working method and general historical unreliability—Aristoxenus, for instance, transfers the history of Phintias and Damon from Dionysius I to his own contemporary Dionysius II, quoting him as a witness for his fiction—it seems to me that many of the ancient witnesses they adduce are fictitious and made up for the occasion. Thus, A. of Cyzicus, who is only quoted on one point, may well be one of these pseudo-authorities. His non-existence is of course not ultimately provable, but his existence should similarly not be taken for granted either.

Commentary on the Fragment

(1) Although there are several references to A., it seems clear that all of them depend on the same collective source (Alexander Polyhistor?). The text of the epigram differs. Diogenes' version, though still corrupt, seems to be the best one. He is the only one who correctly preserves the form of a verb (*ἵνυκε*), which in Plutarch and Athenaeus has been erroneously altered to the conjunction *ήνικα*. Since *περικλεές* must refer to the *γράμμα* and not the votive present, the full-stop should be put before *περικλεές* and not after it. The original probably offered the reading *κλειτήν* (splendid) instead of *κλεινήν* (famous)⁷, because it makes better sense and is used as a standard epithet for sacrifices. The opinions of what should be regarded as the famous *γράμμα* differ. It is said to have been the geometrical equivalence $a^2 + b^2 = c^2$, or, according to Plutarch (a), the problem of the surface of a parabola. Although Pythagoras was interested in numbers, the stories about his mathematical inventions are

⁷ Cf. LSJ s.v. *κλειτός*. Cf. also the Planudean tradition of the ANTH. Gr. and Plutarch's variant *λαμπτῆν*. Pace BURKERT (1963: 405) the verse does not yield the sense that Pythagoras' sacrifice of a ox was regarded as a famous story by A.

clearly fictitious. The formula $a^2 + b^2 = c^2$ for instance seems to have been already in use in Babylon⁸.

⁸ VAN DER WAERDEN (1963: 288); BURKERT (1962: 405-406) with further references.

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1098. Archetimus of Syracuse

F

1 (*FHG* IV, p. 318) DIOG. LAET. 1,40: Ἀρχέτιμος δὲ ὁ Συρακούσιος ὄμιλίαν αὐτῶν (*sc.* τῶν ἐπτὰ) ἀναγέγραφε παρὰ Κυψέλω, ἦ καὶ αὐτός φησι παρατυχεῖν.

Vide etiam 10 A 1 DK, I p. 61,7-8 **1** δὲ *BF* : τε *P* **2** παρατυχεῖν *BP^{ac}* : περιτυχεῖν *FP^a*

1098. Archetimus of Syracuse

F

1 Archetimus of Syracuse described their (*sc.* the Seven Sages) meeting at Gypselus' court, at which he says he himself was present.

1098. Archetimus of Syracuse

Introduction

Archetimus remains completely obscure. There is much reason to believe that he is only a fictitious character. It is clear, in any case, that his claim to have taken part in a meeting of the Seven Sages at Cypselus' court must be a mere literary motif¹, the more so because the chronology seems odd. The Seven Sages are usually dated one generation later to the times of Periander. If a work really went under A.s name, the analogy with Plutarch's *Symposium of the Seven Sages* should lead us to think that A.—like Plutarch's narrator Diocles—was a *ficta persona*, and was erroneously regarded as a real person in the later tradition. However, there might be an hypothesis which is even easier. Perhaps A. was simply adduced by a later author as a pseudo-authority for a learned variant.

¹ ROEPEL (1848: 36-37); BOHREN (1867: 20-21); HIRZEL (1895: 138 n. 4); BARKOWSKI (1923: 2253); SCHWARTZ (1895: 460). Although the parallel to Plutarch has always been noted, A.s authenticity has never been challenged.

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1099. Artemon of Magnesia

F

ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤ' ΑΡΕΤΗΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΞΙ ΠΕΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΥΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΙΗΓΗΜΑΤΑ?

1 Ρητ. *Bibl.* 161 p. 103 a 35: ὁ δὲ δεύτερος (*sc. λόγος*) ἐκ τε τῶν Σωτηρίδα
Παμφίλης ἐπιτυμῶν πρώτου λόγου καὶ καθεξῆς μέχρι τοῦ δεκάτου καὶ ἐκ τῶν
Ἀρτέμωνος τοῦ Μάγνητος τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν γυναιξὶ πεπραγματευμένων
διηγημάτων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν Διογένους τοῦ Κυνικοῦ ἀποφθεγμάτων, καὶ μὴν
5 καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων διαφόρων, ἄλλα γε καὶ ἀπὸ ὄγδου λόγου τῆς Σαπφοῦς· ἐν οἷς καὶ
ἡ δευτέρα βίβλος τῶν συλλογῶν.

⁴⁻⁵ καὶ μὴν καὶ *M*: καὶ μὴν *A*

1099. Artemon of Magnesia

F

STORIES OF VIRTUOUS EXPLOITS OF WOMEN

1 The second (*sc. book of Sopater's Miscellaneous Extracts*) is an excerpt from books 1-10 of the *Compendium of Pamphila*, the daughter of Soteridas, and from the *Stories of Virtuous Exploits of Women* of Artemon of Magnesia, and also from the *Apophthegms* of Diogenes, the Cynic, and also from various other writings, especially Sappho's eighth book. These are the contents of the second book of his collection.

1099. Artemon of Magnesia

Introduction

Artemon of Magnesia is not otherwise known. His *Stories of Virtuous Exploits of Women* are completely lost. They were used by Sopater in the second book of his *Anthology*¹. As work stands on the borderline between biography and paradoxography and belongs to the literary tradition which we can still grasp in Plutarch's *Mulierum virtutes* and—slightly different in scope—in the anonymous treatise *De mulieribus*². Although these works belong to the Imperial period³, the genre already seems to have flourished in Hellenistic times⁴. Apart from the extant examples a similar book by the Stoic Apollonius (of Tyrus?) and another anonymous collection are known, both of which were also excerpted by Sopater⁵. The biographies of women by Charon of Carthage (1077) are also closely related⁶.

¹ On his identification cf. SCHMID II 2 (1924: 1086-1087). He may have been the pupil of Iamblichus, who was executed by Constantine the Great.

² WESTERMANN (1839: XLII) wants to identify A. with the anonymous author of the treatise *De mulieribus*, but there is no certain proof; cf. WENTZEL (1896: 1447) and GERA (1997: 34).

³ The date of *De mulieribus* is uncertain. However, as a collection of examples for rhetorical purposes, it seems to fit best into the Imperial period. GERA (1997: 60-61) suggests its author be identified with Pamphile.

⁴ Cf. GERA (1997: 32-34; 60).

⁵ Cf. PHOT. *Bibl.* 161 p. 104 b 14-17: καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Στωϊκοῦ. ὅσαι γυναῖκες ἐφίλοσόφησαν ἡ καὶ ἄλλως τι ἐπίδοξον διεπράξαντο, καὶ δι' ᾧ οἰκίαι εἰς εὖνοιν συνεκράθσαν; p. 104 a 18-21: ἐκ τόμου τινὸς ἀρχαίου ἐκλογαὶ καὶ αὐτὸ τυγχάνει τὸ βιβλίον, οὐκ ἔχον ἐπιγραφόμενον τὸν συνηθροικότα· ἐν οἷς τὰς εἰς μέγα δόξης καὶ ὄνομα λαμπρὸν ἀρθείσας γυναῖκας καταλέγει.

⁶ Cf. also STADTER (1965: 7-8).

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1100 (= 157). Asclepiades

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΑΛΗΡΕΩΣ

- 1** ATHEN. 13,21 p. 567 C-D: καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ (...) δράματα ἀπὸ ἔταιρῶν
ἔσχε τὰς ἐπιγραφάς (...) Εὐβούλου Κλεψύδρα (54 K.-A.). οὕτω δ' ἐκλήθη αὕτη
ἡ ἔταιρα, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς κλεψύδραν συνουσίαζεν ἔως κενωθῆ, ὡς Ἀσκληπιάδης
εἴρηκεν ὁ τοῦ Ἀρείου ἐν τῷ Περὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως (F 40 WEHRLI IV)
5 συγγράμματι, τὸ κύριον αὐτῆς ὄνομα φάσκων εἶναι Μητίχην.

¹ ἔταιρῶν *CE* : ἔτέρων *A*

1100 (= 157). Asclepiades

F

ON DEMETRIUS OF PHALERON

- 1** There are also many other comedies which acquired their names from hetaerae, such as (...) the *Clepsydra* of Eubulus. The hetaera was so called because she had intercourse for the duration of the time it took a clepsydra (*i.e. water-clock*) to empty, as Asclepiades, son of Arius, has told in his book *On Demetrius of Phaleron*, who says that her real name was Metiche.

1100 (= 157). Asclepiades

Introduction

The identity of Asclepiades, son of Arius, who wrote on Demetrius of Phaleron remains uncertain. It is usually taken for granted that A.—possibly an unknown contemporary of Demetrius—composed a biography of him¹. But this theory seems to have some serious flaws. Athenaeus speaks about hetaerae who lend their names to comedies. At the end of his list comes the *Clepsydra* of Eubulus, on whom A. made some learned remarks in his book on Demetrius. One might wonder, then, what connection there was between the prostitute *Clepsydra* and Demetrius. On first view one might think that *Clepsydra* was perhaps his mistress, but the chronology is against it. Eubulus' *floruit* is usually put at about 376/72 b.c.², whereas Demetrius was born in the fifties at the earliest. We should also bear in mind that Demetrius was roughly a contemporary of Menander and that personal invective is not a feature of New Comedy. Thus, A.s remarks can not refer to some slander concerning a relationship of Demetrius with the prostitute of Eubulus' comedy³. There must either be some other *Clepsydra*, who was said to be Demetrius' mistress, or the link between Demetrius and Clepsydra must be altogether different, as in fact seems possible. As we know, Demetrius, a prolific author, wrote on the comic poet Antiphanes⁴, who also named some of his comedies after prostitutes. It seems to me that A.s remarks might provide some additional comment on this or maybe a similar treatise of Demetrius', which is unknown to us, or even simply on comedy referring to Demetrius as an authority. His work thus appears to be a scholarly commentary rather than a biography, and the assumption that A. was a contemporary of Demetrius should in consequence be dropped. The author is rather a later grammarian. Looking for a suitable candidate, the choice is difficult, there being several grammarians named A. Therefore, I will discuss the evidence on them first before turning back to A., son of Arius. The most famous grammar-

¹ Cf. JACOBY on *FGrHist* 157; more cautious WEHRLI IV p. 49; SUSEMIHL I (1891: 135 n. 666).

² SUDA ε 3386 s.v. Εὐβουλος (= test. 1 K.-A.).

³ *Contra* WEHRLI IV p. 53.

⁴ DIOG. LAERT. 5,81 (= ANTIPHANES test. 5 K.-A.).

ian A. is A. of Myrlea (i), who lived in the 2nd–1st century b.c.⁵ Apart from him we know of an A. ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεύς (ii), who wrote a commentary on Solon's axones and was opposed by Didymus⁶. (iii) Finally, an A., who wrote a commentary on Aristophanes, is mentioned several times in the scholia⁷. Possibly no. ii and iii are identical⁸. An additional problem is posed by the entry of the Suda on A. of Myrlea (α 4173)⁹, which is confused. Apart from A. of Myrlea, (iv) another grammarian A. emerges, who is dated to the time of Attalus I and Eumenes II (241-159 b.c.) and is said to have lived—if this is the meaning of the text—in Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy IV (221-205 b.c.) in his youth. It is a crucial question whether this grammarian originally came from Nicaea or not. The text, as it stands, says that A. of Myrlea was τὸ ἄνωθεν γένος (...) Νικαιεύς¹⁰, but the statement is usually impugned on the basis of Stephanus of Byzantium, who lists an A. s.v. Νίκαια¹¹. The reference is transferred to the elder grammarian A., who is accordingly called A. of Nicaea¹². There is, however, some reason to keep to the meaning of the text: The entry of Stephanus is no independent evidence, both his and the Suda's information probably going back to the same source (either Philo [1060.] or perhaps rather Hermippus [1061.])¹³. In addition, there is a good parallel for the variant of his birthplace, since the poet Parthenius is also said to be from Nicaea or Myrlea by Hermippus¹⁴. Finally, the difficulty in explaining how a grammarian from Nicaea spent his youth in Alexandria is removed if we refer it to A. of Myrlea¹⁵ in the way the text does. The picture we get of the second

⁵ *FGrHist* 697; see on him in general LEHRS (1848: 428-448); SUSEMIHL II (1892: 15-19); MÜLLER (1903); WENTZEL (1896: 1628-1631).

⁶ *FGrHist* 339 T 3; F 1-2.

⁷ Cf. ARISTOPH. test. 121 K.-A.; HESYCH. κ 3309 s.v. Κολακοφοροκλείδης (= HERMIPPUS F 39 K.-A.);

⁸ SUSEMIHL II (1892: 19 n. 98); MÜLLER (1903: 48); MONTANARI (1997: 92), see, however, BOUDREAUX (1919: 86-87).

⁹ Ἀσκληπιάδης: Διοτίμου, Μυρλεανός—πόλις δέ ἐστι Βιθυνίας, ἡ νῦν Ἀπάμεια καλουμένη—τὸ δὲ ἄνωθεν γένος ἦν Νικαιεύς: γραμματικός, [μαθητής Ἀπολλωνίου. γέγονε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀττάλου καὶ Εύμενοῦς τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ βασιλέων. ἔγραψε φιλοσόφων βιβλίων διορθωτικά.] ἐπαίδευσε δὲ καὶ εἰς Τρώμην ἐπὶ Πομπήιου τοῦ μεγάλου [καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπὶ τοῦ τετάρτου Πτολεμαίου νέος διέτριψεν.] ἔγραψε πολλά.

¹⁰ Cf. WENTZEL (1896: 1630).

¹¹ *FGrHist* 339 T 2.

¹² Cf. e.g. *FGrHist* 339; LEHRS (1848: 433); ROHDE (1901: 375 n. 1); SUSEMIHL II (1892: 151); MONTANARI (1997: 92).

¹³ Cf. MÜLLER (1903: 7).

¹⁴ Cf. 1061. HERMIPPUS F 1-2.

¹⁵ It was apparently felt by SUSEMIHL II (1892: 16 n. 85).

grammarian is then quite coherent. He came from Alexandria and was a pupil of Apollonius of Rhodes. At one stage he moved to the Pergamene court, hence he is dated after the Attalids. His oeuvre was mainly exegetic¹⁶—in good Alexandrian tradition. The Suda describes it rather vaguely as φιλοσόφων βιβλίων διορθωτικά. Regarding his literary profile, there is no obstacle to identifying him with no. ii¹⁷. In fact, it is suggested by the common birthplace Alexandria¹⁸. Now we can turn back to the main question, whether A., son of Arius, should be identified with any of them. A. of Myrlea (i) seems to be excluded. He is quoted about ten times by Athenaeus, always as ὁ Μυρλεανός, and it seems that the addition of ὁ Ἀρεῖον would serve to distinguish our man from his famous namesake¹⁹. On the contrary, A. of Alexandria (ii), especially if he is to be identified with the commentator on Aristophanes (iii), is quite a tempting candidate. The nature of his studies would fit quite conveniently. His work on Solon's axones is quoted side by side with some remarks of Demetrius of Phaleron, who wrote on lawgivers²⁰. The brief comment of his which has survived on the comic character Κολακοφοροκλειδης²¹ shows the same features as does A.'s comment on the *Clepsydra*, insofar as both try to identify the comic character with a real person. However, in view of the fragmentary nature of our evidence complete certainty cannot be reached, and there might well be more than one learned commentator named A.

¹⁶ Cf. JACOBY on *FGrHist* 339 p. 91

¹⁷ Pace MONTANARI (1997: 92).

¹⁸ See JACOBY on *FGrHist* 339 p. 91, who, however, assumes that Νικαεύς refers to A.

¹⁹ ATHEN. 11,104 p. 501 E (= CRATINUS test. 40 K.-A.) does not provide evidence that A. of Myrlea wrote a treatise on Cratinus, cf. MÜLLER (1903: 49) against SUSEMHL II (1892: 18).

²⁰ *FGrHist* 339 F 2.

²¹ HESYCH. κ 3309 (= HERMIPPUS F 39 K.-A.).

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1101. Damas

F

ΒΙΟΣ ΕΥΔΗΜΟΥ

1 SIMPL. *Comm. Arist. Phys.* VI Prooem. p. 924, 11-14 DIELS: ὅτι δὲ τὰ τρία ἐστὶ τὰ Περὶ κινήσεως, καὶ τὰ πέντε Φυσικά, μαρτυρεῖ καὶ Δάμας ὁ τὸν Βίον Ἐυδήμου (F 1 WEHRLI VIII) γράψας λέγων: “καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Περὶ φύσεως πραγματείας τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους τὰ Περὶ κινήσεως τρία.”¹⁻²

¹⁻² Δάμας *codd.* : *fort.* Δαμᾶς *scriendum* : Δάμασος *Brandis*, Δαμάσκιος *Ionsius sine necessitate*

⁴ τὰ *scripsi duce* Diels : *tῶν codd.*

1101. Damas

F

LIFE OF EUDEMUS

1 That the three books are those *On Motion* and the five books are *Physics* is also confirmed by Damas, the author of a *Life of Eudemus*, who says: “And out of Aristotle’s treatise *On Physics* the books *On Motion* are three.”

1101. Damas

Introduction

Damas remains unknown. The form of his name has been variously altered to Δάμασος or Δαμάσκιος, but since Damas is a common Greek name, there is no need to change the text as we have it¹. Since he is said to have written a biography of the Peripatetic Eudemus of Rhodes (~ 2nd half 3rd cent. b.c.), he may have been his pupil and younger contemporary². Hence he is perhaps to be dated to the beginning of the 3rd century b.c. Eudemus had revised Aristotle's *Physics*, and D.s statement seems to refer to the division made by him. Apparently Eudemus singled out the books EZΘ of the *Physics* as books *On Motion*. However, he did not know book H, which was only incorporated afterwards³. Since it is precisely book H on which Simplicius quotes him, there must be some misunderstanding. If D. is thought to be an early author, the error has to be laid at Simplicius' door⁴.

¹ See DIELS in his apparatus criticus; MARTINI (1907: 896); FRASER – MATTHEWS I & II s.v. Perhaps one should accentuate the name Δαμᾶς instead of Δάμας, because this seems to be the more common form. As to the text of the testimony, I have changed τῶν to τὰ, as has been already proposed by DIELS as an alternative solution in his apparatus criticus. MANUWALD (1971: 1) retains the transmitted text believing it to give only part of a sentence and regarding Περὶ κινήσεως τρία as a fixed title.

² ZELLER II 2 (1879: 85 n. 1); Ross (1936: 15); more cautious MANUWALD (1971: 5) *contra* WEHRLI VIII p. 77.

³ SIMPL. *Comm. Arist. Phys.* VII *Proem.* p. 1036,13-15 DIELS (*Comm. in Arist. Gr.* 10) (= F 109 WEHRLI VIII).

⁴ Cf. ROSE (1854: 199); MANUWALD (1971: 5) *contra* WEHRLI VIII p. 77.

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1102. Diodorus of Ephesus

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΑΞΙΜΑΝΔΡΟΥ?

1 (12 A 8 DK) DIOG. LAERT. 8,70 : Διόδωρος δ ὁ Ἐφέσιος περὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρου γράφων φησίν, ὅτι τοῦτον ἐζήλώκει (*sc.* Ἐμπεδοκλῆς) τραγικὸν ἀσκῶν τῦφον καὶ σεμνὴν ἀναλαβὼν ἐσθῆτα.

Vide etiam 31 A 1 DK, I p. 281,1 ¹ Διόδωρος BP : θεόδωρος F ² φησίν BP : om. F

1102. Diodorus of Ephesus

F

ON ANAXIMANDER?

1 Diodorus of Ephesus, writing on Anaximander, says that he (*sc.* Empedocles) emulated him by assuming a haughty air and wearing stately dresses.

1102. Diodorus of Ephesus

Introduction

Diodorus of Ephesus remains obscure. As the text stands, it seems to suggest that D. wrote a biography on Anaximander¹. Yet there is some serious doubt about it. D. is quoted with the unique remark that Empedocles (~ 483-423 B.C.) imitated Anaximander (~ 610-547 B.C.) in his pompous behaviour. However, Anaximander is not known for such deportment, and the impossible chronology indicates that the statement is pure nonsense. It seems that Anaximander has been confused with Anaxagoras, who is connected with Empedocles elsewhere. In fact, a passage in Diogenes Laertius in his life of Empedocles² might show how it originated³. There we read: τὸν δὲ (sc. Ἐμπεδοκλέα) Ἀναξαγόρου διακοῦσαι καὶ Πυθαγόρου. καὶ τοῦ μὲν τὴν σεμνότητα ζηλῶσαι τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, τοῦ δὲ τὴν φυσιολογίαν. Empedocles is said to have been a pupil of Anaxagoras and Pythagoras. He imitated Pythagoras' extravagance and Anaxagoras' physiology. In the Greek text this is expressed by τοῦ μὲν—τοῦ δὲ, which refer to Pythagoras and Anaxagoras in reverse order. This led to the misunderstanding that Empedocles imitated Anaxagoras' proud behaviour, the reference being actually to Pythagoras. In addition, Anaxagoras was confused with Anaximander. Hence the statement about Empedocles' relation with him, which is, whoever wrote it, poor stuff. Since D. is a common name, any certain identification with a namesake is impossible. In fact, there is some reason to think that he might be an invented authority. D.'s birthplace is—most conveniently—Ephesus, which would lend some credulity to his remarks on an Ionian philosopher, when introduced as an ancient eye-witness or author. Thus, D. is exactly the type of person one would expect to be adduced by some Hellenistic biographer like Hermippus. In fact, Hermippus may well be the ultimate source⁴, since his biography of Empedocles included some detailed information on Empedocles' teachers⁵. However, neither this nor D.'s non-existence—as is often

the case with these obscure figures—can strictly be proven⁶. It may therefore be enough to urge caution.

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⁶ Pace CRÖNERT (1906: 3).

¹ Cf. on him CLASSEN (1970: 36).

² DIOG. LAERT. 8,56 (= 31 A 1, I p. 278 DK).

³ CRÖNERT (1906: 3).

⁴ Cf. CRÖNERT (1906: 3).

⁵ F 25-27 WEHRLI *Suppl.* I.

1103. Diodorus of Eretria

F

1 HIPPOL. Ref. 1,2,12-13: Διόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς καὶ Ἀριστόξενος (F 13 WEHRLI II) ὁ μουσικός φασὶ πρὸς Ζαράταν τὸν Χαλδαῖον ἐληλυθέναι Πυθαγόραν (14 A 11 DK, I p. 102,5-6). τὸν δὲ ἐκθέσθαι αὐτῷ δύο εἶναι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῖς οὖσιν αἵτια, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα· καὶ πατέρα μὲν φῶς, μητέρα δὲ σκότος· τοῦ δὲ φωτὸς μέρη θερμὸν ξηρὸν κοῦφον ταχύ, τοῦ δὲ σκότους ψυχρὸν ὑγρὸν βαρὺ βραδύ· ἐκ δὲ τούτων πάντα τὸν κόσμον συνεστάναι, ἐκ θηλείας καὶ ἄρρενος. (13) εἶναι δὲ τὸν κόσμον φύσει καὶ μουσικήν ἀρμονίαν· διὸ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν περίοδον ἐναρμόνιον. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ γῆς καὶ κόσμου γινομένων τάδε φασὶ λέγειν τὸν Ζαράταν· δύο δαιμονας εἶναι, τὸν μὲν οὐράνιον, τὸν δὲ χθόνιον· καὶ τὸν μὲν χθόνιον ἀνιέναι τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, εἶναι δὲ ὕδωρ, τὸν δὲ οὐράνιον πῦρ μετέχον τοῦ ἀέρος, θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν· διὸ καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἀναιρεῖν οὐδὲ μιαίνειν φησὶ τὴν ψυχὴν· ἔστι γὰρ ταῦτα οὐσία τῶν πάντων.

⁶ πάντα Roeper : -ων LOBT ⁷ φύσει καὶ scripsi : φύσιν καὶ LOBT : κατὰ φύσιν Marcovich : φήσιν καὶ post Gronovium multi edd. ¹¹ Post οὐράνιον add. <τὴν ψυχὴν, εἶναι δὲ> Reitzenstein, <ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ... εἶναι γάρ> Marcovich || θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν LOBT : θερμὸν τοῦ ψυχροῦ Roeper

1103. Diodorus of Eretria

F

1 (12) Diodorus of Eretria and Aristoxenus, the musician, say that Pythagoras visited the Chaldaean Zoroaster and that he demonstrated to him that from the beginning there have been two principles for all that exists, father and mother; that the father is the light and the mother the darkness; that hot, dry, light, and fast are parts of the light, whereas cold, wet, heavy, and slow are parts of the darkness, and that out of these elements the entire universe is composed, out of female and male. (13) And that the universe is also a musical harmony by nature, and this is the reason why the sun moves harmoniously on its orbit. Concerning the generation from earth and heaven Zoroaster, they say, relates the following: there are two divine powers, one in heaven, the other in the earth. And the one in the earth makes everything grow up out of the earth and is the water, the one in heaven is fire which partakes of the air, warm and cold. This is the reason why none of these elements, he says, destroys or pollutes life, because they are the essence of everything.

1103. Diodorus of Eretria

Introduction

Diodorus of Eretria is said to have written about Pythagoras. Perhaps his work was a biography, though this is far from certain. The notion we form about his character depends mainly on what we think about his relationship to Aristoxenus, together with whom he is quoted in the fragment¹. Either it was Aristoxenus who introduced D. as an authority²—in this case D., if he is at all a genuine person, is likely to belong to the early Pythagoreans—or it was D. who is the source for Aristoxenus' testimony³. Although no definite solution seems possible, perhaps the first alternative is to be preferred. On the one hand it would suit Aristoxenus' style very well to quote precious ancient authorities⁴, on the other hand it may be suggested by the nature and transmission of the doxographical information. In any case, if the material of this section is derived from Sotion's work, who was among the first to stress the oriental influence on Greek thought, D. seems at least to antedate him⁵.

Commentary on the Fragment

(1) It is difficult, if not impossible, to separate D.s and Aristoxenus' account, since both authors are always uniformly referred to with φασίν. The only thing we can do is determine the age and coherence of the doxographical material and see what role Aristoxenus and D. could have played in its transmission. The fragment comprises both §§ 12 and 13⁶. They form a single narrative unit on the influence

¹ The nature of the fragment, in which both authors are uniformly referred to for the same complex theory, seems to rule out the possibility that they are independent.

² REITZENSTEIN (1917: 35).

³ ZELLER I 1 (1919: 385 n. 1); LÉVY (1926: 82); WEHRLI II p. 50-51 ad ARISTOXENUS F 13; SPOERRI (1955: 270).

⁴ Cf. ARISTOXENUS F 25; 31.

⁵ On SOTION see DIELS (1879: 147); WEHRLI *Suppl.* II, SOTION p. 11.

⁶ Cf. also F 13 WEHRLI II; contra SPOERRI (1955: 272) who attributes only § 12 to Aristoxenus. In § 14 there follows the story that Pythagoras forbade the eating of beans. This statement can hardly be attributed to Aristoxenus anymore, since he is known to have expressly rejected this opinion, cf. ARISTOXENUS F 25 WEHRLI II and his commentary p. 51 on F 13. Thus, the fragment should end with § 13.

which Zoroastrian cosmology exerted on Pythagoras. First (§ 12) we are told that Pythagoras visited Zoroaster, as is also mentioned by Alexander Polyhistor, Plutarch and Antonius Diogenes⁷. Although it is hard to believe that Aristoxenus made Pythagoras visit the Chaldaean (!) Zoroaster, who was usually dated by the Peripatos 6000 years before Plato's birth⁸, it seems likely that he spoke about Pythagoras' journey to the Orient and Zoroastrian influences in Pythagoras' thought⁹, and that this became a personal contact in later tradition. Then (§ 13) follows the account of the "Zoroastrian" doctrine. The introductory remark to the musical harmony of the universe perfectly fits Aristoxenus, the μουσικός¹⁰. It is a kind of dualistic cosmology composed out of the opposites of light and darkness. The text in § 13, when the dualism is combined with a theory of the four elements, has caused some difficulty¹¹. In fact, the construction of its parts is not completely parallel, but it yields perfect sense. The first generating principle is said to be a combination of water and earth, the second a combination of fire and air¹². Although the theory may not give an exact picture of Zoroastrian thought¹³, it forms a nice prototype of the Pythagorean συστοιχία of the ten ἀρχαί¹⁴, which seems to have been first ascribed to Pythagoras in the Academic

⁷ ALEXANDER *FGrHist* 273 F 94; PLUT. *De anim. procr.* 2 p. 1012 E; PORPHYR. *Vita Pyth.* 12 (Diogenes Antonius); cf. BIDEZ – CUMONT II (1938: 35-40) for a collection of parallels; BURKERT (1962: 177 n. 18).

⁸ PLIN. *Nat. hist.* 30,3; cf. HINZ (1972: 774).

⁹ Cf. ZELLER I 1 (1919: 385 n. 1); SPOERRI (1955: 273); contra BIDEZ – CUMONT I (1938: 33).

¹⁰ This is the only part LÉVY (1926: 82) attributes to him. At this point, the text presents some difficulty, because the transmitted φύσιν (LOBT) can hardly be right. Earlier editors mainly preferred φησίν which they thought to be the reading of L (but see now MARCOVICH [1986] in his edition). This, however, causes a serious break of construction, so that it seems altogether preferable to restore φύσει. In this way, the sentence runs on smoothly, the harmony of the universe forming part of the "Zoroastrian" theory.

¹¹ There has been thought to be a lacuna in the clause καὶ τὸν μὲν χθόνιον ἀνίεναι τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, εἶναι δὲ ὑδροφόρον τὸν οὐράνιον πῦρ μετέχον τοῦ ἀέρος after τὸν οὐράνιον. REITZENSTEIN (1917: 34-35) and (1926: 116-117), followed by BIDEZ – CUMONT II (1938: 65-66), suggests to insert <τὴν ψυχήν, εἶναι δὲ>; MARCOVICH (1986) in his edition <ἐκ τῶν κόσμου ... εἶναι γάρ>.

¹² The expression ἀνίεναι τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς corresponds to μετέχον τοῦ ἀέρος. There are some good parallels of thought in HIPPOL. *Ref.* 4,43,8-9 and especially in 4,43,3 (first adduced by REITZENSTEIN [1917: 34 n. 2] for his emendation): Πέρσαι ἔφασαν τὸν θεὸν εἶναι φωτεινόν, φῶς ἐν ἀέρι συνεχόμενον.

¹³ Cf. SPOERRI (1955: 286-287); DE JONG (1997: 315-316; 335); contra REITZENSTEIN (1917: 34-35) and (1926: 116-117).

¹⁴ ARIST. *Metaph.* 1,5 p. 986 a 22. The affinity is also noted by SPOERRI (1955: 277-278).

tradition¹⁵. Thus, it is perfectly suitable as a model to prove “Zoroastrian” influences in Pythagorean thought. Moreover, it shows no Neo-Pythagorean tinge¹⁶. All this might suggest that the theory presented is indeed Aristoxenus’ work¹⁷. Now we have to see how D. fits into this picture. Since all material could perfectly belong to Aristoxenus, D. might be simply viewed as a mediating source, but in this case one could ask why he—an obscure author—should be quoted alongside the famous Aristoxenus. The opposite solution is far easier: D. was adduced by Aristoxenus as an ancient authority, and therefore had a firm place in the doxographical tradition.

¹⁵ Cf. especially BURKERT (1962: 45-46).

¹⁶ For a contrast one may compare the version given by PLUT. *De anim. procr.* 2 p. 1012 E: Καὶ Ζαράτας ὁ Πυθαγόρου διδάσκαλος ταῦτην (*sc.* τὴν αόριστον δυάδα) μὲν ἐκάλει τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ μητέρα, τὸ δὲ ἐν πατέρᾳ.

¹⁷ *Contra Lévy* (1926: 82); SPOERRI (1955: 274-289).

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1104. Dionysius of Ephesus

F

ΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΩΝ ΙΑΤΡΩΝ

1 SCHOL. THEOCR. *Argum.b ad Id.* 11: προσδιαλέγεται δὲ ὁ Θεόκριτος Νικίᾳ τινὶ ιατρῷ Μιλησίῳ τὸ γένος, οὐ καὶ ποιημάτιον φέρεται ἀντιγεγραμμένον [ύπο] πρὸς Θεοκρίτου Κύκλωπα, οὐ δὴ ἀρχή (SH 566):
 ἦν ἄρ' ἀληθές τούτῳ, Θεόκριτε· οἱ γὰρ Ἐρωτες
 5 ποιητὰς πολλοὺς ἔδιδαξαν τοὺς πρὶν ἀμούσους.
 ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ὁ αὐτός, γέγονε δὲ συμφοιτητῆς Ἐρασιστράτου τοῦ Ἰουλιήτου, ὃς φησι Διονύσιος ὁ Ἐφέσιος ἐν τῇ Τῶν ιατρῶν ἀναγραφῇ.

codd. KLUEAT, post ἀντιγεγρ. accedunt GP ¹ δὲ ὁ *om. K* ² τὸ γένος οὐ καὶ *solus K* ²⁻³ φέρεται ... Κύκλωπα *om. K* ³ πρὸς Θεοκρίτου *Meineke*: ὑπὸ Θεοκρίτου πρὸς *codd.* ⁴ ἦν *K*: ἦν γὰρ *LUEAGPT* ⁵ ποιητὰς πολλοὺς *LUEAGPT*: πολλοὺς π- *K* || τοὺς *codd.* : τὸ *Dilthey* (*cf. Eur. F 663 N.*) ⁶ ὁ αὐτός *Buecheler* (1884: 275) : ἔαυτοῦ *K* : *om. cett.* || γέγονε δὲ συμφοιτητῆς *K* : *om. cett.* ⁷ τοῦ Ἰουλιήτου *Buecheler* : τοῦ ποιητοῦ *K* : ιατροῦ Μιλησίου *cett.* || ὁ Ἐφέσιος *LUEAGPT*: *om. K* || ἀναγραφῇ *K* : ἀνατροφῇ *cett.*

1104. Dionysius of Ephesus

F

RECORD OF PHYSICIANS

1 Theocritus talks to a certain Nicias, a physician from Miletus, of whom a small poem, written with reference to Theocritus' *Cyclops*, is also still extant. Its beginning is: "Obviously, Theocritus, it is true that Love made many men poets, who were formerly strangers to the Muses." The same man also wrote epigrams. He was a fellow-student of Erasistratus of Iulis, as Dionysius of Ephesus says in his *Record of Physicians*.

1104. Dionysius of Ephesus

Introduction

Dionysius' common name makes a plausible identification with any of his namesakes impossible¹. A *terminus post quem* is the middle of the 3rd century B.C. Since he wrote a *Record of Physicians*, he might have been a physician himself. A parallel would be provided by Soranus (1062), who likewise came from Ephesus. It remains unclear how much of the scholiast's knowledge about Nicias², the poet and physician, is derived from D.s work. To be exact, only the information that Nicias was—perhaps at Cos³—a fellow-student of the famous physician Erasistratus⁴ should be attributed to D. He may also, however, have mentioned Nicias' friendship with Theocritus.

¹ Cf. WELLMANN (1903: 976); SCHMID I (1912: 632 n. 7).

² Cf. on Nicias in general Gow (1952: 208); Gow – PAGE II (1965: 428-434). Apart from *Id.* 11 he is referred to by Theocritus also in *Id.* 13; 28; *Epigr.* 8. Eight epigrams of his survive, cf. ANTH. PAL. 6,122; 6,127; 6,270; 7,200; 9,315; 9,564; ANTH. PL. 188; 189 (= Gow – PAGE I [1965] I. 2755-2786).

³ Cf. WELLMANN (1907: 334); SCHMID II 1 (1920: 295); see, however, Gow – PAGE II (1965: 428).

⁴ Cf. on him (especially on the chronology) WELLMANN (1907: 333-350); for a new fragment KOTRČ (1977: 159-161).

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1105. Eubulides

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ

1 DIOG. LAERT. 6,20: Διογένης Ἰκεσίου τραπεζίτου Σινωπεύς (V B 2 GIANNANTONI). φησὶ δὲ Διοκλῆς δημοσίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν τράπεζαν ἔχοντος τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ παραχαράξαντος τὸ νόμισμα φυγεῖν. Εὐβουλίδης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Διογένους αὐτὸν φησὶ Διογένην τοῦτο πρᾶξαι καὶ συναλάσθαι τῷ πατρί.

⁴ φησὶ Διογένην *F* : Διογένη φησὶ *BP*

1105. Eubulides

F

ON DIOGENES?

1 Diogenes, son of the banker Hicesius, of Sinope. Diocles tells us that he went into exile because his father, while in charge of the public bank, debased the coinage. But Eubulides in his book *On Diogenes* says that Diogenes himself did it and went into exile together with his father.

1105. Eubulides

Introduction

Eubulides, who wrote on Diogenes, remains unknown. It seems an attractive suggestion that he should be identified with the equally obscure Eubulus, who is mentioned by Diogenes as the author of a Πρᾶτις Διογένους¹. Apparently this work was a kind of Cynic novel², and some remarks on Diogenes' exile would fit well into it. The fact that E.s work is quoted as Περὶ Διογένους does not oppose this hypothesis³. Diogenes may only refer to the content of the work, or perhaps he simply misquoted the book's title, which does not seem impossible for him. The story that Diogenes the Cynic or his father Hicesius⁴ forged money and was subsequently banished appears to have taken its origin from some remarks Diogenes made in his Πόρδαλος. There he had said ὡς παραχαράξαι τὸ νόμισμα, referring not to money but to political conditions. The double meaning of the words gave rise to the legend about the forgery, which, as the various versions in Diogenes show, engaged the imagination of many authors⁵.

¹ DIOG. LAERT. 6,30-31 (V B 70; 102 GIANNANTONI); on the identification see e.g. ZELLER II 1 (1889: 246 n. 7); LEO (1901: 49-50); for alternative solutions and further references cf. DÖRING (1972: 114); GIANNANTONI III (1985: 406).

² Cf. on the work HIRZEL (1895: 389-390); HELM (1906: 238); von FRITZ (1926: 22-23).

³ Pace von FRITZ (1926: 39 n. 85).

⁴ Ἰκέσιος is the well attested form of the name, cf. GIANNANTONI III (1985: 379 n. 10).

⁵ Cf. on the story in general von DER MÜHLL (1976: 354-358).

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1106. Eubulides the Pythagorean

F

1 (14 A 8 DK) [IAMB.] *Theol. Arith.* p. 52: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ σ' κύβος σις' γίνεται, ὁ ἐπὶ ἑπταμήνων γονίμων χρόνος, συναριθμουμένων τοῖς ἐπτὰ τῶν ἔξημερῶν, ἐν αἷς ἀφροῦται καὶ διαφύσεις σπέρματος λαμβάνει τὸ σπέρμα, Ἀνδροκύδης τε ὁ Πυθαγορικὸς ὁ Περὶ τῶν συμβόλων γράψας καὶ Εὐβουλίδης ὁ Πυθαγορικὸς καὶ Ἀριστόξενος (F 12 WEHRLI II) καὶ Ἰππόβοτος καὶ Νεάνθης οἱ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα (*sc.* Πυθαγόραν) ἀναγράψαντες σις' ἔτεσι τὰς μετεμψυχώσεις τὰς αὐτῷ συμβεβηκυίας ἔφασαν γεγονέναι. μετὰ τοσαῦτα γοῦν ἔτη εἰς παλιγγενεσίαν ἐλθεῖν Πυθαγόραν καὶ ἀναζησαι ὥστε μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀνακύκλησιν καὶ ἐπάνοδον τοῦ ἀπὸ ἔξηψ ψυχογονικοῦ κύβου, τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποκαταστατικοῦ διὰ τὸ σφαιρικόν, ὡς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε διὰ τούτων ἀναζησιν ἔσχεν· φὰ καὶ συμφωνεῖ τὸ Εὐφόρβου τὴν ψυχὴν ἔσχηκέναι κατὰ γε τοὺς χρόνους. φ' γάρ καὶ ιδ' ἔτη ἔγγιστα ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ίστορεῖται μέχρι Ξενοφάνους τοῦ φυσικοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἀνακρέοντός τε καὶ Πολυκράτους χρόνων καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Ἀρπάγου τοῦ Μήδου Ιάνων πολιορκίας καὶ ἀναστάσεως, ἦν

15 Φωκεῖς φυγόντες Μασσαλίαν φκισαν· πᾶσι γάρ τούτοις ὄμόχρονος ὁ Πυθαγόρας. Υπὸ Καμβύσου γοῦν ίστορεῖται Αἴγυπτον ἐλόντος συνηχιαλωτίσθαι ἐκεὶ συνδιατρίβων τοῖς ιερεῦσι, καὶ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα μετελθῶν τὰς βαρβαρικὰς τελετὰς μυηθῆναι, ὅ τε Καμβύσης τῇ Πολυκράτους μάλιστα τυραννίδι συνεχρόνει, ἦν φεύγων εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετῆλθε Πυθαγόρας. Διὸς οὖν

20 ἀφαιρεθείστης τῆς περιόδου, τουτέστι δις τῶν σις' ἔτῶν, λοιπὰ γίνεται τὰ τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ πρᾶ.

2 (18 A 14 DK) ΒΟΕΤΗ. *Inst. mus.* 2,19: *De ordine consonantiarum sententia Eubulidis et Hippasi*: sed Eubulides atque Hippasus alium consonantiarum ordinem ponunt. aiunt enim multiplicitatis augmenta superparticularitatis diminutioni rato ordine respondere. itaque non posse esse duplum praeter dimidium, nec triplum praeter tertiam partem. quoniam igitur sit duplum, ex eo diapason consonantiam reddi, quoniam vero sit dimidium, ex eo quasi

⁶ τὰ A : om. ceteri ¹⁰ ἄλλοτε γA : ἄλλην in adn. Ast, Diels ¹¹ γε in adn. Ast, Diels : τε codd. ¹⁵ φκισαν Ast : φκησαν codd. ¹⁸ ὅ τε de Falco : ὅτε codd. ²¹ μάλιστα γA : μέχρι P ²²⁻²³ inscriptionem om. g ²⁵ diminutioni Diels : diminutione codd.

1106. Eubulides the Pythagorean

F

1 Since the cube of six is 216—that is the time of a seven months' birth plus the six days, in which the seed becomes frothy and begins to germinate—the Pythagorean Androcydes, author of *On the Symbols*, the Pythagorean Eubulides, Aristoxenus, Hippobotus and Neanthes, who wrote about him (*sc.* Pythagoras), said that the transmigration of his soul took 216 years. After a period of years, they say, equal in number to the number required by the cube of the life-generating six for its first reappearance and return—the six is recurrent because it is spherical—, Pythagoras was reborn and lived again, and he also came to life after this interval at some other time. It is also chronologically consistent with this that he once had the soul of Euphorbus, since at least 514 years are said to have passed from the Trojan War until Xenophanes, the natural philosopher, and the times of Anacreon and Polycrates, and the besieging and expulsion of the Ionians by the Persian Harpagus, on which occasion the Phocians went into exile and founded Marseille. In fact, Pythagoras is contemporaneous with all these events, since he is said to have been taken prisoner by Cambyses after his conquest of Egypt, where he stayed with the priests, to have come to Babylon and to have been initiated into the barbarian rites. And Cambyses is roughly contemporaneous with the tyranny of Polycrates, which Pythagoras avoided by travelling to Egypt. Deducting twice this period, that is twice the 216 years, there remains his lifetime of 82 years.

2 *The order of the harmonies according to Eubulides and Hippasus:* But Eubulides and Hippasus establish another order of the harmonies: The increase in multiplicity, they say, corresponds to a diminution of superparticularity in a fixed order. Therefore, the double cannot exist separately of the half nor the threefold separately of the third part. Accordingly, since there is the double, the harmony of the octave (2:1) is produced by it, since there is the half, the ratio 3:2, that is the fifth, is effected by it, so to speak, by the opposite process

contraria divisione sesqualteram, id est diapente, effici proportionem. quibus mixtis, scilicet diapason ac diapente, triplicem procreari, quae utramque 30 contineat symphoniam. sed rursus triplici partem tertiam contraria divisione partiri, ex qua rursus diatessaron symphonia nascetur. triplicem vero atque sesquitertium iunctos quadruplam comparationem proportionis efficere. unde fit, ut ex diapason ac diapente, quae est una consonantia, et diatessaron una concinentia coniungatur, quae in quadruplo consistens bis diapason 35 nomen accepit. secundum hos quoque hic ordo est: diapason, diapente, diapason ac diapente, diatessaron, bis diapason.

²⁸ contraria divisione *scripti* : -am -em *codd.* ³⁰ triplici *iCP* : -is *fghk* : -em o ³¹ nascetur *codd.* : *fort.* nascitur *scriendum*

of division. By multiplication of both, that is of the octave (2:1) and the fifth (3:2), the threefold is produced which comprises both harmonies. But again in case of the threefold by opposite division the third part is created, from which again the quart (4:3) will be born. The multiplication, however, of the ratio 4:3 with the threefold effects the fourfold proportion. Therefore it happens that from octave and fifth (3:1), which form together one harmony, and from the quart (4:3) one harmony is combined, which consists in the fourfold and was named double octave. Furthermore, according to them the order is the following: octave, fifth, octave and fifth, quart, double octave.

1106. Eubulides the Pythagorean

Introduction

Eubulides is quoted as an early authority on Pythagoras' life¹. He is called Πυθαγορικός, a name that is usually applied to the generation of Pythagoras' pupils, and precedes Aristoxenus in what seems to be a chronological enumeration of biographers². However, there remains some serious doubt whether he should be regarded as a genuine person at all. Like other ancient Pythagorean authorities he may just be an invented name³.

Commentary on the Fragments

(1) The whole section is an excerpt from the work Περὶ δεκάδος καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς αὐτῆς ἀριθμῶν of Anatolius, who should be dated towards the end of the 3rd century A.D.⁴ Androcydes, Eubulides, Aristoxenus⁵, Hippobotus, and Neanthes are quoted side by side. Androcydes and Eubulides seem to be the oldest authorities, then follows Aristoxenus, finally Hippobotus and Neanthes. If the sequence of the compilation was chronological, Androcydes and Eubulides might have been adduced by Aristoxenus, who in turn was perhaps quoted by the later authors. Since Aristoxenus, Hippobotus and Neanthes are also quoted in the same order by Nicomachus (1063) and other authors⁶, Anatolius seems to have used a similar source-book, or perhaps even Nicomachus himself, cf. also F 2. At any rate, the mathematical content of the fragment could suggest this. Although the collective quotation makes it impossible to define what is taken from each author, it seems difficult to credit the Hellenistic authors with the crude and

¹ Cf. WELLMANN (1907: 870); ZELLER III 2 (1903: 117).

² It remains uncertain whether the expression οἱ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀναγράψαντες includes him, too. It might be suggested by the fact that Ἀνδροκύδης ὁ Πυθαγορικός is also qualified as ὁ περὶ συμβόλων γράψας. However, the text should perhaps not be pressed.

³ On this phenomenon, which is particularly common in the Pythagorean school, cf. ZELLER III 2 (1903: 115). Cf. also FREUDENTHAL's scepticism (1894: 2149-2150) concerning Androcydes.

⁴ See on him SCHMID II 2 (1924: 834; 1343).

⁵ Cf. F 12 WEHRLI II. His apparatus criticus is unreliable.

⁶ Cf. BURKERT (1962: 91).

moreover erroneous reckoning concerning Pythagoras' rebirth⁷. Perhaps they just spoke about his reincarnation as Euphorbus and offered some of the historical data, which were arbitrarily combined by Anatolius or his source to prove the importance of the number six. The reckoning consists of three different elements: (1) The statement that Pythagoras once was Euphorbus⁸. (2) The calculation that the result of $216 (= 6^3) + 216 + 82$ is 514. (3) The rough synchronization of Pythagoras' *floruit* with contemporary persons or events⁹. These three elements are mutually incompatible and so their combination results in sheer nonsense¹⁰. On the one hand the synchronization is muddled, because Pythagoras' death, not (as is usual) his *floruit*, is synchronized with Polycrates' regime, on the other hand the interval of 514 years between Euphorbus and Xenophanes is much too short and does not fit into any known chronology concerning the fall of Troy¹¹.

(2) The text offers a piece of Pythagorean musical theory, which is attributed to E. and Hippasus. Its immediate source was probably Nicomachus' work on musical harmonies, which formed the basis of Boethius' *De institutione musica*¹². The Pythagoreans tried to explain every harmonic interval as the expression of a certain arithmetic ratio arising out of the numbers 1 to 4, the so-called tetractys. According to them, the octave corresponded to the ratio of $2/1$, the fifth to $3/2$, octave and fifth together to $3/1$, the quart to $4/3$; the double octave to $4/1$. They also tried to develop a fixed system of these harmonies according to their logical priority¹³. The theory of E. and Hippasus, which differs from that of Nicomachus, starts from the axiom that every multiplicity ($n/1$) is linked to a certain *superparticularitas* ($1/n$)—a superparticular number being defined as $n + 1/n$ —, because the higher n gets the smaller becomes $1/n$. Thus, for example, $2/1$ is linked to $1/2$ and $3/1$ to $1/3$ as its respective opposite. First comes the

⁷ See WEHRLI II ad loc. p. 50; BURKERT (1962: 116 n. 122).

⁸ See on this ROHDE (1898: 417-418); DELATTE (1922: 154-159; BURKERT (1962: 116-117)). It seems to be part of the older tradition.

⁹ For Pythagoras' capture by Cambyses see IAMBL. *Vita Pyth.* 19 ἔως ὥπο τῶν σὺν Καμβύσῃ αἰχμαλωτισθείς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ανήχθη, and also von FRITZ (1963: 181-182). For the dating of the foundation of Marseille after 545 B.C. cf. ANTIOCHUS OF SYRACUSE, *FGrHist* 555 F 8; and TIMAGENES, *FGrHist* 88 F 2; WACKERNAGEL (1930: 2131).

¹⁰ Cf. AST (1817: 181): "Quid huic computationi tribendum sit, quivis sponte intellegit." WEHRLI's computation p. 50 is rather odd.

¹¹ For the various dates see JACOBY (1904: 146-149).

¹² Cf. JAN (1895: 224-225) who, however, excludes this part; SCHMID II 2 (1924: 905).

¹³ On Pythagorean musical theory see BURKERT (1962: 170-171; 348-350); WEST (1992: 233-235).

interval of the octave with the ratio $2/1$. It is connected with the ratio $1/2$, which in turn leads to the superparticular number $3/2$, the ratio of the fifth as next harmony. The multiplication of both ratios ($3/2$ and $2/1$) gives the ratio of $3/1$ which corresponds to the interval of octave and fifth taken together. Again this ratio $3/1$ is linked to the ratio $1/3$, which forms part of the next superparticular number $4/3$. This is the ratio of the quart. Another multiplication of $3/1$ and $4/3$ leads us to the ratio $4/1$, which is the ratio of the double octave. In this way, a complete system of harmonies is developed by mathematical speculation.

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1107. Eurypylius

F

- 1** ΑΤΗΝ. 11,119 p. 508 F: Εὐαίων δ' ὁ Λαμψακηνός, ὡς φησιν Εύρύπυλος καὶ Δικαιοκλῆς ὁ Κνίδιος ἐν εἰκοστῷ καὶ πρώτῳ Διατριβῶν, ἔτι δὲ Δημοχάρης ὁ ρήτωρ ἐν τῷ ὑπέρ Σοφοκλέους πρὸς Φίλωνα (F 1 SAUPPE), δανείσας τῇ πατρίδι ἀργύριον ἐπὶ ἐνεχύρῳ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἀποστερηθεὶς τυραννεῖν ἐβούτες, λεύτο, ἔως συνδραμόντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀποδόντες ἐξέβαλον.

¹ Εὐαίων *Kaibel* (cf. *Diog. Laert.* 3,46) : εὐάγων *ACE* ² ἐν εἰκοστῷ *Musurus* : ἐν ἐνηκοστῷ *A* : ἐνενηκοστῷ *Kaibel* ⁴ ἀποστερηθεὶς *Maas* (1935: 304) : ἀποστερήσας *A* : ἀφυστερήσας *CE* : [καὶ] ἀφυστερησάσῃς *Wilamowitz*

1107. Eurypylius

F

- 1** As Eurypylius and Dicaeocles of Cnidus in the 21st book of his *Diatribes*, and also the orator Demochares in his speech *For Sophocles Against Philon*, say, Euaeon of Lampsacus lent money to his native city, taking the Acropolis as security. When he was refused his payment, he planned to be its tyrant, until the citizens of Lampsacus united against him, returned the money, and drove him out of the country.

1107. Eurypylus

Introduction

Eurypylus¹ remains obscure. He might be identical with E. of Cos, the pupil of Crantor († 276/275 B.C.), who is mentioned by Philodemus in his *Index Academicorum*². The name E., which is quite rare, would point to the island of Cos, too, since it is the name of a mythical Coan king³. E. is quoted together with the equally obscure Dicaeocles of Cnidus⁴, whose comprehensive *Diatribes* could be the mediating source for the story of how Euaeon, a pupil of Plato⁵, aspired to tyranny on Lampsacus. The first to tell the story was—as far as we know—Demochares, the nephew of Demosthenes⁶, who used it as an example to prove the damage philosophers caused their cities, in a speech justifying measures against the philosophical schools at Athens in about 306 B.C.⁷ Thus, it appears to belong to the large stream of anti-philosophical literature, and one might wonder how E., if he is identified with the Academic, came to mention it. It seems to me that the only way out is that E.'s attitude in writing it was apologetic. In this case, the example of the Peripatetic Aristocles could be adduced for a parallel. However, one should perhaps refrain from identifying E. with the philosopher.

¹ JACOBY (1907: 1351).

² PHILOD. *Ind. Ac.* S 34; cf. CRÖNERT (1906: 31 n. 162) and DORANDI (1991: 56).

³ Cf. on him HESIOD. F 43,58 M.-W.; TÜMPEL (1907: 1347-1348); SHERWIN-WHITE (1978: 306-307; 317).

⁴ Dicaeocles is also quoted by Eus. *Praep. ev.* 14,6,6 on Arcesilaus, cf. WILAMOWITZ (1881: 313 n. 23).

⁵ DIOG. LAERT. 3,46. Hence KAIBEL's correction of the transmitted εύάγων. Accordingly the incident dates to the middle of the 4th century B.C., cf. BERVE (1967: 312-313); FRISCH (1978: 126).

⁶ Cf. DEMOCHARES F 1-13 SAUPPE.

⁷ See also HABICHT (1995: 81-82).

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1108. Heraclides

F

ΒΙΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΜΗΔΟΥΣ

1 EUTOC. COMM. ARCHIMED. *Circ.* p. 228,19-21 HEIBERG III: ἀλλ’ ἔστι μὲν τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον, ὃς φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῷ Ἀρχιμήδους βίῳ, πρὸς τὰς τοῦ βίου χρείας ἀναγκαῖον.

2 EUTOC. COMM. APOLLON. PERG. *Con.* I p. 168,5-12 HEIBERG II:
5 Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ γεωμέτρης, ὃς φίλε ἐτούρε Ἀνθέμιος, γέγονε μὲν ἐκ Πέργης τῆς ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ ἐν χρόνοις τοῦ Εὐεργέτου Πτολεμαῖου, ὃς ιστορεῖ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ τὸν Βίον Ἀρχιμήδους γράφων, ὃς καὶ φησι τὰ κωνικὰ θεωρήματα ἐπινοήσαι μὲν πρῶτον τὸν Ἀρχιμήδη, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον αὐτὰ εὑρόντα ὑπὸ Ἀρχιμήδους μὴ ἐκδοθέντα ἴδιοποιήσασθαι, οὐκ ἀληθεύων κατά γε τὴν ἐμήν.

Uncertain Testimony

10 **1 (a)** ARCHIMED. *Spir.* p. 2,1-6 HEIBERG II: Ἀρχιμήδης Δοσιθέῳ χαιρεῖν. τῶν ποτὶ Κόνωνα ἀποσταλέντων θεωρημάτων, ὑπὲρ ὃν αἰεὶ τὰς ἀποδείξιας ἐπιστέλλεις μοι γράψαι, τῶν μὲν πλείστων ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείδα κομισθέντεσσιν ἔχεις γεγραμμένας, τινὰς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ βιβλίῳ γράψας ἐπιστέλλω τοι. **(b)** ARCHIMED. *Spir.* p. 4,27-28 HEIBERG II: τούτων μὲν οὖν τῶν εἰρημένων πάντων τὰς ἀποδείξιας Ἡρακλείδας ἐκόμιξεν.

⁵⁻⁶ τῆς ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ *p* : *in ras.* *W*⁷ ⁶ Ἡρακλείδης *scripsi*, cf. Heiberg (1879: 4) : Ἡράκλειος *codd.* ⁹ ἐμὴν *W* : ἐμὴν γνώσιν *p*

1108. Heraclides

F

LIFE OF ARCHIMEDES

1 But this book, as Heraclides says in his *Life of Archimedes*, is indispensable for the necessities of life.

2 Apollonius the Geometer, from Perge in Pamphylia, my dear friend Anthemius, lived in the times of Ptolemy Euergetes, as is told by Heraclides, who wrote the *Life of Archimedes*. He also says that Archimedes was the first to invent the conical theorems and that Apollonius, when he found them unpublished by Archimedes, plagiarized them, though, in my opinion, he does not tell the truth.

Uncertain Testimony

1 (a) Archimedes gives his regards to Dositheus! As regards the demonstrations of the theorems sent to Conon, which you are constantly asking me to write, you will find most of them written in the books brought by Heraclides; some, however, I have written down and am sending in this book. **(b)** For all the theorems that I have mentioned Heraclides has coveyed to you the proofs.

1108. Heraclides

Introduction

Heraclides, author of a *Life of Archimedes*, may be identical with the H. whom Archimedes used as a courier to carry some of his books to Dositheus¹. In this case he should be dated to the end of the 3rd century B.C. The idea that H. was a pupil of Archimedes also seems to be suggested by the admiration that pervades his remarks. The exact outline of his *Life of Archimedes* remains unclear. Apparently it included a detailed discussion of Archimedes' inventions and books. Perhaps it also contained the famous story about his death during the capture of Syracuse in 212 B.C.

Commentary on the Fragments

(1) H.s remarks, adduced by the commentator Eutocius (5-6th century A.D.), on the importance of the *Circuli dimensio* appear to be quite exaggerated. They may betray him as a pupil of Archimedes.

(2) The transmitted name Ἡράκλειος seems to be corrupt. It should probably be corrected to Ἡράκλείδης². Apart from the similarity of the names, the emendation is suggested by the title of the book and its eulogistic tendency. H. accused Apollonius of Perge of having plagiarized Archimedes. The charge is hardly justified, and Eutocius is right in being sceptical, although Apollonius seems to have drawn some material from his predecessors³.

¹ Thus HEIBERG (1879: 4-5); SUSEMIHL I (1891: 723 n. 97); SCHNEIDER (1979: 4). See also DAEBRITZ (1912: 490).

² HEIBERG (1879: 4) though he retains the transmitted Ἡράκλειος in his edition; SUSEMIHL loc. cit.

³ Cf. SUSEMIHL I (1891: 750); ZIEGLER (1950: 1975-1976).

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1109. Hipparchus

F

1 (68 A 1 DK, II p. 84,3-4) DIOG. LAERT. 9,43: (...) ἀλυπότατα τὸν βίον προήκατο (*sc.* Δημόκριτος), ὡς φησιν ὁ Ἰππαρχος, ἐννέα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἔτη βιούς.²

² ὡς φησιν ὁ (*om.* P) Ἰππαρχος *BP* : *om.* F

1109. Hipparchus

F

1 (...) he (*sc.* Democritus) died completely painlessly, living 109 years according to Hipparchus.

1109. Hipparchus

Introduction

Hipparchus remains unknown¹. We are given neither his birthplace nor the title of any of his works. Hence it is uncertain whether he should be regarded as an author at all. In fact, there is some room for doubt. He is quoted on Democritus' death, which is told in Hermippus' version². It is difficult to separate Hermippus' and H.s remarks³, and one might ask whether there is some connection between them. It seems to me—although this is of course beyond certain proof—that H. might be one of Hermippus' dubious authorities, an eye-witness whom Hermippus adduced to lend plausiblity to his story of how Democritus, in order not to disturb the festival of the Thesmophoria, postponed his death for three days, living on the odour of warm bread he inhaled, and then died at the incredibly advanced age of 109⁴. Hermippus' story is clearly a travesty of Democritus' theory that every sensory perception is caused by some material emanation⁵. As to odours, a similar theory is attested for the Pythagoreans⁶, with whom Democritus is linked elsewhere as well⁷. Now we can turn back to H. The name H. appears—being constantly mixed up with Hippasus and Archippus—in the Pythagorean tradition as the name of a 4th century Pythagorean⁸. It is also connected with Democritus, since a Pythagorean H. is named as the author of a pseudo-Democritean treatise⁹. Unfortunately the exact age of both traditions can not be determined, but it seems quite likely that the H. at hand should be somehow linked with it. In any case, a Pythagorean friend of Democritus would be a suitable authority for Hermippus' elaborate story. If he existed, so much the better, if he did not, he had to be invented.

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¹ DK III p. 608 and ZELLER in his index rightly list him as an *ignotus*.

² Cf. HERMIPPUS F 31 WEHRLI *Suppl.* I. I only give the end of the fragment of Hermippus in which H. is quoted.

³ WEHRLI includes the quotation from H. in his fragment.

⁴ On Democritus' various ages cf. [LUCIAN.] *Macrob.* 18 ; PHLEGON *FGrHist* 257 F 37,79; CENS. *Nat.* 15,3; and ZELLER I 2 (1920: 1045-1046); JACOBY (1902: 290-295).

⁵ Cf. WEHRLI's commentary on F 31.

⁶ 58 B 43 DK.

⁷ BURKERT (1962: 148).

⁸ Cf. BURKERT (1962: 212 n. 52; 435 n. 86).

⁹ 68 C 7 DK; cf. also WELLMANN (1913: 1665).

1110. Lycon/Lycus of Iasus

T

- 1** (57 A 3 DK) ATHEN. 10,43 p. 418 E: καὶ Πυθαγόρας δ' ὁ Σάμιος μετρία τροφῇ ἐχρήτο, ὡς ίστορεῖ Λύκων ὁ Ἰασεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πυθαγορείου <βίου>.

2 (57 A 1 DK) IAMBL. *Via Pyth.* 267: Ταραντῖνοι· Φιλόλαος, Εὔρυτος, Ἀρχύτας, Θεόδωρος, Ἀρίστιππος, Λύκων, Ἐστιαῖος κτλ.

3 (57 A 1 DK) DIOG. LAERT. 5,69: γεγόνασι δὲ Λύκωνες καὶ ἄλλοι· πρῶτος Πυθαγορικός, δεύτερος αὐτὸς οὗτος (*sc.* ὁ Περιπατητικός), τρίτος ἐπώνυμος ποιητής, τέταρτος ἐπιγραμμάτων ποιητής.

ΠΕΡΙ ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΕΙΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ (Τ. 1)

Uncertain Fragments

IIIO LYCON/LYCUS OF IASUS T 1-3; F 1

1110. Lycon/Lycus of Iasus

1

- 1** Pythagoras of Samos, too, used a simple diet, as is told by Lycon of Iasus in his book *On Pythagorean Life*.

2 From Tarentum: Philolaus, Eurytus, Archytas, Theodorus, Aristippus, Lycon, Hestiaeus (...)

3 There are also other Lycones: 1. a Pythagorean, 2. the one mentioned (*sc.* the Peripatetic), 3. an epic poet, 4. an epigrammatist.

ON PYTHAGOREAN LIFE (T 1)

Uncertain Fragments

1 (a) (57 A 4 DK) Eus. *Praep. ev.* 15,2,8-9 (= ARISTOCL. F 2, p. 38 HEILAND). πάντα δ' ὑπερπαίει μωρίᾳ τὰ ὑπὸ Λύκωνος εἰρημένα, τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι
10 Πυθαγορικὸν ἔαυτόν. φησὶ γὰρ θύειν Ἀριστοτέλην θυσίαν τετελευτηκυίᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ τοιαύτην, ὅποιαν Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ Δήμητρι, καὶ ἐν ἐλαίῳ θερμῷ λουόμενον τοῦτο δὴ πιπράσκειν· ἡνίκα δὲ εἰς Χαλκίδα ἀπήει, τοὺς τελώνας εύρειν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ λοπάδια χαλκᾶ τέτταρα καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. (9) καὶ σχεδόν οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι διαβαλόντες Ἀριστοτέλην τοσοῦτοι γεγόνασιν.
15 **(b)** DIOG. LAERT. 5,16: λέγεται δὲ καὶ λοπάδας αὐτοῦ (*sc.* Ἀριστοτέλους) πλείστας εύρησθαι· καὶ Λύκωνα λέγειν ως ἐν πυέλῳ θερμῷ ἐλαίου λούοιτο καὶ τοῦλαιον διαπωλοῖτο.

1(a) Everything, however, is surpassed in foolishness by Lycon's remarks, who calls himself a Pythagorean. According to him Aristotle offered such sacrifices to his dead wife as the Athenians do to Demeter, and took a bath in warm oil, which he sold afterwards. And when he emigrated to Chalcis, the customs officers found in his ship 74 little bronze dishes. These people form, more or less, the group of Aristotle's first critics.

(b) It is also told that his (*sc.* Aristotle's) dishes were found in very great numbers and that, according to Lycon, he took a bath in a tub of warm oil and sold it afterwards.

2 *Biov suppl. Kaibei*

2 (570 F 15) PORPHYR. *Vita Pyth.* 5: Λύκος δ' ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἰστοριῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ὡς διαφωνούντων τινῶν μνημονεύει λέγων· τὴν μὲν οὖν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἥς γενέσθαι πολίτην τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον (*sc.* Πυθαγόραν) συμβέβηκεν, εἰ μὴ τυγχάνεις κατειδώς, μηδὲν διαφερέτω σοι. λέγουσι γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν εἶναι Σάμιον, οἱ δὲ Φλιάσιον, οἱ δὲ Μεταποντῖνον.

3 (57 A 5 DK) SCHOL. NICANDR. *Ther.* 585a: Βουπλεύρου τε] Δημήτριος ὁ Χλωρὸς τὴν βούπλευρον δένδρον εἶναι φησιν. οὐκ ἔστι δέ, ἀλλὰ λάχανον, οὐ μνημονεύει Νίκανδρος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ὑακίνθῳ (F 66 SCHNEIDER) καὶ Ἐπαίνετος ἐν τῷ Περὶ λαχάνων. Ἀντίγονος δέ φησιν καὶ Λύκωνα μεμνῆσθαι τοῦ λαχάνου.

4 (57 A 2 DK) ATHEN. 2,80 p. 69 E: Λύκος δ' ὁ Πυθαγόρειος τὴν ἐφεκτικὴν γενέσεώς φησι θρίδακα πλατύφυλλον τετανὴν ἄκανλον ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν 30 Πυθαγορείων λέγεσθαι εὔνοῦχον, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀστύτιδα· διουρητικοὺς γὰρ παρασκευάζει καὶ ἐκλύτους πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια· ἔστι δὲ κρατίστη 30-31 ἐσθίεσθαι.

¹⁸ Λύκος Holstenius : Λεῦκος codd. ²¹ τυγχάνεις Westermann : -ῆς codd. ²⁵ Νίκανδρος codd. : Ἀνδρέας Cazzaniga (1958: 164) ²⁶ Λύκων VRγ : Λύκων Κρν : Λύκω C ²⁸ Λύκος Valckenaer : Ἰβυκος codd. : "Ικκος? Maas (1914: 818) ²⁸ ἐφεκτικὴν Morel (1928: 171) : ἐκ codd. : ἐκλύσιν ποιοῦσαν Diels ³⁰ εὔνοῦχον codd. : εὔνουχειον Plan. Nat. hist. 19,127 διουρητικοὺς codd. : fort. scribendum διορρωτικοὺς Käbel

2 Lycus in the fourth book of his *Histories* calls to mind that there is also dispute about his (*sc.* Pythagoras') birthplace and says: "Do not worry if you do not happen to know his birth-place and the city of which he was a citizen, since he is variously said to come from Samos, from Phlius and from Metapont".

3 *bupleuru te*: Demetrius Chlorus says that the *bupleuros* (*i.e.* bishop's weed) is a tree, but this is wrong. It is rather a vegetable, which Nicander mentions in his book entitled *Hyacinthus* and *Epaenetus* in his book *On Vegetables*. According to Antigonus it is also referred to by Lycon.

4 Lycus the Pythagorean says that the birth-controlling *thridax* (*i.e.* a kind of lettuce), which has broad leaves, a smooth surface and no stalk, was called by the Pythagoreans *eunouchos* and by the women *astytis*, since it causes urination and deprives one of sexual impulse. It is the best to eat.

1110. Lycon/Lycus of Iasus

Introduction

Lycon (DK 57), author of a *Pythagorean Life*, is completely obscure¹. Although he is said to be from Iasus (T 1), he is perhaps to be identified with the Pythagorean from Tarentum, listed by Iamblichus (T 2) and Diogenes (T 3), to whom might also be attributed the slander against Aristotle (F 1). In this case, he would date to the end of the 4th century B.C.² However, the evidence is too weak to regard any identification as certain. The exact character and scope of L.'s *Pythagorean Life* remains equally unknown³. The form of the title—the adjective being used instead of the genitive of the name—may be due to the fact that Pythagoras' life was used as an example for a certain lifestyle⁴. Various other fragments have been attributed to L. They are presented in full as a starting point for discussion, although in my opinion only F 1 should be attributed to the Pythagorean author, F 2 belonging to Lycus of Rhegium (*FGrHist* 570), F 3 and 4 to the physician Lycus of Naples.

Commentary on the Fragments

(1) The source of information is, at least in the case of Eusebius⁵, the Peripatetic philosopher Aristocles, who lived in the 2nd century A.D.⁶ The Pythagorean Lycon is mentioned among Aristotle's first critics⁷.

¹ See on him in general MÜLLER, *FHG* II, p. 370; SUSEMIDL II (1892: 330-331; 691-692); CAPELLE (1927: 2308-2309); BURKERT (1962: 198).

² Cf. SUSEMIDL II (1892: 330; 691). If the enumeration in T 2 is roughly chronological, the mention of Archytas points to the 4th century B.C. as a *terminus post quem*, cf. CAPELLE (1927: 2309). Similarly, a *terminus ante quem* might be provided by the mention of the Peripatetic Lycon in T 3, who dates to the beginning of the 3rd century B.C., cf. on him WEHRLI VI, p. 21. The critic of Aristotle must date to the same epoch.

³ The addition of βίου (KAIBEL, but see already SCHWEIGHÄUSER in his index vol. IX p. 139) is justified by the similar title of Aristoxenus' work, whose biography of Pythagoras is variously quoted as Πιθαγορικός or Πυθαγόρειος βίος, cf. PORPHYR. *Vita Pyth.* 59; LAMBL. *Vita Pyth.* 233.

⁴ Cf. DÖRRIE (1963: 275).

⁵ Cf. T 58 i DÜRING; see also THEODORET. *Graec. aff. cur.* 8,34; 12,50-51; PLIN. *Nat. hist.* 35,162 (= T 64 DÜRING); and also the vita of Al-Mubashir in DÜRING (1957: 197; 202).

⁶ See on Aristocles in general the edition of HEILAND (1925); MORAUX (1984: 83-207).

Regarding the chronology, he could be the Pythagorean L. mentioned by Diogenes and Iamblichus (T 2-3)⁸. If he is also thought to be identical with L. of Iasus⁹, one could imagine that, in some part of his *Pythagorean Life*, L. contrasted Aristotle's decadence with Pythagoras' modesty. The remarks, however, might be derived from some other philosophical pamphlet or from a treatise on luxury. There is also another, even more malicious, version about Aristotle performing excessive sacrifices. In the treatise Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς, which goes under the name of Aristippus, we are told that Aristotle fell in love with a mistress of Hermias of Atarneus, and made extravagant offerings to her¹⁰. It is quite remarkable that in both cases Aristotle's sacrifices are compared to those the Athenians made to Demeter.

(2) The fragment is commonly attributed to Lycon of Iasus¹¹, but it seems quite odd that his *Pythagorean Life* should be identical with a work called *iστοποιία*, which had at least four volumes. The author is perhaps rather Lycus of Rhegium, who wrote a history of Magna Graecia¹². As in the case of Timaeus—who is actually quoted next to him by Porphyry—Lycus' work will certainly have contained some chapters on Pythagoras.

(3) The scholium contains various explanations concerning the plant called βούπλευρος¹³. Demetrius Chlorus and Antigonus, the first known commentators of Nicander, are quoted several times by the scholia. They date roughly to the 1st century B.C.¹⁴ Lycon, adduced

⁷ Cf. on the fragment DÜRING (1957: 391); MORAUX (1984: 138-139); on slanderous remarks concerning Aristotle's lifestyle in general ZELLER II 2 (1879: 42-44).

⁸ Cf. SUSEMIDL II (1892: 330).

⁹ Thus BURKERT (1962: 198).

¹⁰ DIOG. LAERT. 5,3: Ἀριστιππος δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς φησιν ἐρασθῆναι τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην παλλακίδος τοῦ Ἐρμίου. τοῦ δὲ συγχωρήσαντος ἔγημέ τ' αὐτὴν καὶ ἔθεν υπερχαίρων τῷ γυναῖφ, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ Ἐλευσινίᾳ Δῆμητρι.

¹¹ Cf. MÜLLER, *FHG* II, p. 370, and JACOBY in his commentary p. 601 on *FGrHist* 570 F 15.

¹² SUSEMIDL II (1892: 692). The wording of the fragment (μηδὲν διαφερέτω σοι) does not, *pace* BURKERT (1962: 198 n. 78), oppose this hypothesis, since we do not know Lycus' style, nor can slight alterations in wording in the process of transmission be excluded.

¹³ On the plant see also PLIN. *Nat. hist.* 22,77 (and 27,57): *laudatum in cibis ab Hippocrate, in medicina Glaucone et Nicandro. semen contra serpentes valet. folia ad secundas feminarum vel sucum ex vino inlinunt, et strumis folia cum sale et vino. radix contra serpentes datur in vino et urinae cienda.* The pharmaceutical author Glaucon is found nowhere else. Since Nicander is quoted together with him, as he is in the scholium with Lycon, and there are altogether only a few references to the βούπλευρος, Glaucon is perhaps simply a corruption of Lycos, who is also listed by Pliny among his sources for Book 22.

¹⁴ On Demetrius see KROLL (1936: 262); on Antigonus COHN (1894: 2422). Epaenetus, also living in the 1st century B.C., is known as the author of a cookery book, cf. COHN (1905: 2672-2673).

by Antigonus, has been thought to be identical with the Pythagorean¹⁵. However, it seems altogether preferable—especially in the light of F 4—to identify him with the physician Lycus of Naples, who lived in the 1st century B.C.¹⁶ Sometimes the names Lycon and Lycus get confused¹⁷. In this case the commentator Antigonus would have used a medical handbook of his times¹⁸.

(4) The fragment provides special information on the θρίδαξ, a kind of lettuce. Its outward appearance and especially its pharmaceutical effects—it is used as a diuretic and restrains sexual desire—are described in detail. Regarding the content, the fragment seems to be derived from a botanical or pharmaceutical source. A close parallel in content and even in the wording can be found in Pliny¹⁹ and the Geponica²⁰. The transmitted name of the author Ιβυκος seems to be corrupt. Since the content of the fragment is quite similar to that of F 3²¹, the emendation of the name to Λύκος appears a good solution²². Again the Pythagorean Lycon has been thought to be the author²³, but again Lycus of Naples²⁴ may be the better choice. He is not only known to have written on similar subjects, but is also listed among the sources of books 20-27, though not of 19, by Pliny. There remains, however, the problem that Athenaeus calls Lycus a Πυθαγόρειος. Although it can not be excluded that Lycus was called thus, it is perhaps better to assume some corruption. Possibly an Ιπποκράτειος became a Πυθαγόρειος under the influence of the following Πυθαγορείων.

¹⁵ CAPELLE (1927: 2308-2309), but see BURKERT (1962: 198 n. 78).

¹⁶ See on F 4.

¹⁷ Cf. also CLEM. *Strom.* 2,129,9; and MAAS (1914: 818).

¹⁸ There are also references to other pharmaceutical writers in the scholia, e.g. to Crateuas and (in later times) to Dioscurides.

¹⁹ PLIN. *Nat. hist.* 19,127: *rotundam vero ac minima radice, latis foliis ἀστυνίδα quidamque εύνουχειον, quoniam haec maxime refragetur veneri.*

²⁰ GEOPON. 12,13,1-2: θρίδαξ ὑγρὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν ἔστι λάχανον, διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὰς πυρώδεις φλεγμόνας ἀρμόζει. ἔστι δὲ ἄδιψον ἔδεσμα, καὶ ὑπνωτικόν, ἔστι δὲ καὶ γάλακτος προτρεπτικόν. ἐψηθεῖσα δὲ γίνεται τροφμωτέρα, συνουσίας τε ἀποτρέπει, ὅθεν οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι εὐνοῦχον αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἀστυνίδα.

²¹ Cf. CAPELLE (1927: 2308).

²² See, however, MAAS (1914: 818), who tentatively suggests restoring the name of Ικκος, who is a Pythagorean mentioned by IAMBL. *Vita Pyth.* 267.

²³ CAPELLE (1927: 2308).

²⁴ See on him KIND (1927: 2407-2408); DEICHGRÄBER (1930: 204-205; 261-263) who gives a collection of the other fragments.

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1111. Minyes

F

1 (*FHG* II, p. 335, F 3) DIOG. LAERT. 1,27: συνεβίω (*sc.* Θαλῆς) δὲ καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ Μιλησίῳ τυράννῳ, καθά φησι Μινύης.

Vide etiam 11 A 1 DK, I p. 69,1-2

1111. Minyes

F

1 He (*sc.* Thales) associated also with Thrasybulus, the Milesian tyrant, as Minyes says.

1111. Minyes

Introduction

Minyes remains a shadowy figure. He could well be a fictitious authority. Although the form of his name appears to be correct¹, its mythological tinge—it recalls the famous Boeotian king Minyas—might suggest that the name is invented. The information that Thales kept company with the Milesian tyrant Thrasybulus² is unique. Usually it is Periander who is associated with Thrasybulus³, and it is easy to see how the learned variant was created by simple transference of the story from Periander to Thales. Of course the fact that the latter came from Miletus facilitated the invention. It was—as it seems to me—rounded off by the addition of the pseudo-authority M.

¹ Contra MÜLLER, *FHG* II, p. 335 (*nomen corruptum*) cf. PAPE — BENSELER s.v. Μίνυας.

² Cf. on him SCHACHERMEYR (1936: 567-568); BERVE (1967: 101).

³ Cf. e.g. HERODOT. 1,23; DIOG. LAERT. 1,31; 1,100.

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1112. Nicander of Alexandria

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ ΜΑΘΗΤΩΝ

1 (118 bis T 1, vol. III B p. 742) SUDA αι 354 s.v. Αἰσχρίων, Μιτυληναῖος, ἐποποιός, ὃς συνεξεδήμει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Φιλίππου. ἦν δὲ Ἀριστοτέλους γνώριμος καὶ ἐρώμενος, ὡς Νίκανδρος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους μαθητῶν.

³ Νίκανδρος *A* : Μένανδρος *G*

1112. Nicander of Alexandria

F

ON ARISTOTLE'S DISCIPLES

1 Aeschrion of Mytilene, an epic poet, who travelled together with Alexander, son of Philip. He was Aristotle's pupil and darling, as Nicander of Alexandria says in his book *On Aristotle's Disciples*.

1112. Nicander of Alexandria

Introduction

The obscure Nicander of Alexandria¹, author of a work *On Aristotle's Disciples*, might be an entirely fictitious person². It is quite likely that our information on him goes back to the Κατινὴ ἱστορία of the paradoxographer Ptolemy Chennus (1st–2nd century A.D.)³, because Ptolemy is the only author who makes the poet Aeschrion, usually said to be a Samian, come from Mytilene⁴. Since Ptolemy's words never deserve much credit, N. might well be thought to be an invented authority.

¹ Cf. SUSEMIDL II (1892: 399 n. 314).

² JACOBY writes in his *Nachlaß* p. 794: "Bekannt nur aus Suda s.v. Αἰσχρίων als Verfasser eines buches περὶ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους μαθητῶν. Gilt seit Hercher [Jahrb. f. Philol. Suppl. I 19] meist als schwindelcitat. wenn das richtig ist, wird man natürlich nicht in Νικάνωρ ändern und unter den vielen tragern dieses namens suchen, unter denen auch ein Schwiegersohn des Aristoteles aus Stageira ist, der für Kassandros die Munichia befehligt hat und den man schwerlich mit dem Alexanderhistoriker (no. 146) gleichsetzen darf." Cf. also KROLL (1936: 265).

³ Cf. PTOLEMY F 6 p. 50 CHATZIS; KNAACK (1893: 1063-1064); WILAMOWITZ (1941: 159); on the question whether he is the author of a *pinax* of Aristotle's works see DÜRING (1957: 210); MORAUX (1973: 60 n. 6).

⁴ Cf. TZETZ. *Chil.* 8,398-400 (= PTOLEMY 1,2 p. 10-11 CHATZIS). On Aeschrion in general see *FGrHist* 188 bis (III B p. 742); SH 1-12; WILAMOWITZ (1941: 156-159).

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1113. Onetor

F

ΕΙ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΕΙΤΑΙ Ο ΣΟΦΟΣ

1 DIOG. LAERT. 3,9: καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐπορίᾳ, φασίν, ἦν (*sc.* Πλάτων) παρὰ Διονυσίου λαβὼν ὑπέρ τὰ ὄγδοήκοντα τάλαντα, ὡς καὶ Ὁνήτωρ φησὶν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Εἰ χρηματιεῖται ὁ σοφός.

Untitled Fragment

2 DIOG. LAERT. 2,114: καὶ ἔταιρα συνῆν (*sc.* Στίλπων [F 115 DÖRING = II O 5 17 GIANNANTONI]) Νικαρέτῃ, ὡς φησί που καὶ Ὁνήτωρ.

Uncertain Fragments

3 DAM. *In Plat. Phaed.* 1,100 (66b1ff) p. 66-67 WESTERINK II: τίνες οἱ νῦν διαλεγόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους; εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἱ “γνήσιοι φιλόσοφοι”, πῶς ὑπομένουσι τὰ τῶν πολλῶν πάθη; εἰ δὲ οἱ προκόπτοντες, πῶς “γνήσιοι” καλούνται; — τοῦτο μὲν οὖν φασιν Ὁνήτωρ καὶ Ἀττικός (F 44 DES PLACES), 10 ἐκεῖνο δὲ Πατέριος καὶ Πλούταρχος.

4 PROCL. *In rem publ.* II p. 378,23 KROLL: τοῦτο γλαφυρώτερον παραδίδωσιν ὁ Ὁνήτωρ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ Περὶ ἀριθμητικῆς ἀναλογίας.

1113. Onetor

F

WILL THE WISE MAKE MONEY?

1 He (*sc.* Plato) lived, they say, in wealth, since he had received more than eighty talents from Dionysius, as is also told by Onetor in his treatise entitled *Will the Wise Make Money?*.

Untitled Fragment

2 And he (*sc.* Stilpon) kept company with the prostitute Nicarete, as Onetor says somewhere too.

Uncertain Fragments

3 Who are the present interlocutors? If they are the “true philosophers”, how can they be subject to the emotions of the crowd? But if they are still *prokoptontes*, how can they be called “true philosophers”. The latter opinion is that of Onetor and Atticus, the former that of Paterius and Plutarch.

4 This is demonstrated more neatly by Onetor in his fifth book *On Mathematical Analogy*.

1113. Onetor

Introduction

Onetor, who is quoted for some biographical data on Plato and Stilpon, remains an obscure figure¹. His literary profile may suggest that he should be dated to the 1st–2nd century A.D. The attribution of the fragments causes some difficulty. They might belong to two authors rather than to one². The work entitled *Will the Wise Make Money?*³ and its content (F 1) appear to place O. amongst the writers of popular philosophical treatises like Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom. The attitude O. shows in this fragment towards Plato is neutral, if not hostile. The information on Stilpon (F 2) might be derived from a biography, but, since it is similar in character to F 1, it could also have been taken from some philosophical *diaskepsis*⁴. Thus, judging from his works, O. was a Stoic or even a Cynic⁵. In contrast, F 3 and especially F 4 seem to point to a Neo-Platonic author. Although the language of F 3 shows Stoic influence, it is hard to see how a work on Plato's *Phaedo* and a mathematical work in the vein of Nicomachus of Gerasa would fit the profile of an author of popular philosophical treatises. Therefore, it is perhaps best to attribute them to another person called O.

Commentary on the Fragments

(1) In his treatise *Will the Wise Make Money?* O. told the story of how Plato received money from Dionysius II.⁵ It is a topical charge against Plato, which first occurs in the anti-Platonic literature of the 4th century B.C., and which portrays Plato as a parasite at the Syracusan court⁶.

(2) O. is quoted for the information that Stilpon kept company with the prostitute Nicarete⁷. The same story is told by Athenaeus⁸.

¹ Cf. PRAECHTER (1929: 2525).

² Cf. WESTERINK I (1976: 11-12); DÖRRIE III (1993: 190).

³ WESTERINK I (1976: 11-12) attributes the fragment to the work *Will the Wise Make Money?*, but the title hardly fits.

⁴ See LEO (1901: 55 n. 4).

⁵ Cf. SWIFT RIGINOS (1976: 172).

⁶ Cf. SWIFT RIGINOS (1976: 70-72); NESELNRATH (1985: 378-382); DÖRRIE II (1990: 257).

⁷ On Nicarete see KROLL (1936: 280).

⁸ ATHEN. 13,70 p. 596 E (= F 156 DÖRRIE; II O 17 GIANNANTONI): Νικαρέτη δὲ ἦ
Μεγαρίς οὐδὲ ἀγεννῆς ἦν ἔταιρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ γονέων < ... > καὶ κατά παιδείαν ἐπέραστος ἦν,
ἡκρούτῳ δὲ Στίλπανος τοῦ φιλοσόφου.

There is also a mock poem on Stilpon and Nicarete, attributed to the Cynic Crates⁹, which shows—if it is genuine—that Stilpon was already denigrated by contemporary invective, originating from the fact that Nicarete attended his lectures¹⁰. However, the story is quite topical¹¹, and could also have been made up by later biographical tradition to characterise Stilpon as a *homo mulierosus*¹².

(3) At first sight one might assume that O. wrote a commentary on Plato's *Phaedo*. However, he was perhaps simply quoted by Atticus¹³. In this case, the middle of the 2nd century A.D. would be the *terminus ante quem* for O. Most remarkable is the use of the word *prokoptontes*. It belongs to Stoic terminology, and may go back either to O. or to Atticus, who was influenced by Stoic thought¹⁴.

(4) In the chapter referred to by the scholion, Proclus introduces the Neo-Pythagorean doctrine that connects the triangle with the seven-month and the nine-month birth. Apparently O. dealt with the same subject in his comprehensive work *On Mathematical Analogy*. Thus, it was probably similar in kind to the *Theologumena Arithmeticae* of Ps.-Iamblichus¹⁵.

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⁹ DIOG. LAERT. 2,118 (= F 180 DÖRING; II O 6 GIANNANTONI).

¹⁰ Thus DÖRING (1972: 142); GIANNANTONI III (1985: 86).

¹¹ See DÖRING (1972: 142).

¹² Cf. CIC. *De fato* 10 (= F 158 DÖRING; II O 19 GIANNANTONI).

¹³ DÖRRIE III (1993: 190).

¹⁴ WESTERINK II (1977: 67).

¹⁵ For a specimen cf. 1106. EUBULIDES F 1.

1114. Phanocritus

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΕΥΔΟΞΟΥ

1 (*FHG IV*, p. 472) ATHEN. 7,4 p. 276 F: λέγομεν γοῦν ὄψιοφάγους οὐ τοὺς βόεια ἔσθιοντας (...) οὐδὲ τὸν φιλόσυκον, οἵος ἦν Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος, ώς ιστορεῖ Φανόκριτος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Εὔδόξου (Τ 27 LASSERRE) — ιστορεῖ δ' ὅτι καὶ Ἀρκεσίλας φιλόβιοτρυς ἦν —, ἀλλὰ τοὺς περὶ τὴν ἰχθυοπωλίαν ἀναστρεφο-
5 μένους.

¹ γοῦν *Dindorf*: οὖν *AC*

1114. Phanocritus

F

ON EUDOXUS

1 We at any rate do not call “gourmets” either those who eat beef or those who are fond of figs, as was Plato, the philosopher, according to Phanocritus in his book *On Eudoxus*,—he tells us that Arcesilas was also fond of grapes—, but those who go about in the fish market.

1114. Phanocritus

Introduction

Phanocritus, who is said to have written on Eudoxus of Cnidus (~391-338 b.c.), remains only a name to us¹. Perhaps his work was a biography. In this case, however, it is difficult to see how the statement that Plato² liked figs and Arcesilaus (~ 316-241 b.c.) grapes would relate to it, especially since we are given no information on Eudoxus himself³. The form of the title is rather vague, and thus other approaches seem to be equally possible. As we know from Aristotle⁴, Eudoxus argued that the ηδονή should be regarded as the ἀγαθόν, because everyone strove after it. Perhaps Ph. paraded Plato and Arcesilaus in a learned commentary to illustrate E.s doctrine, showing that not even philosophers were free from desire. One should also note that there is some affinity in subject to Ps.-Aristippus' Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς, a work which contained some slander on Arcesilaus as well⁵. If Ph.s work itself did not stand in the same literary tradition, his examples may either be derived from it, or, if Ph. was an early author, transmitted by it. In any case, it is clear that by the time of Plutarch Ph.s remarks formed part of a collection of συμποσιακά, since Plutarch uses the same words without reference to Ph. in his *Quaestiones convivales*⁶.

¹ Cf. KROLL (1938: 1783); LASSERRE (1966: 144; 147).

² On Plato cf. SWIFT RIGINOS (1976: 71; 113-114).

³ Perhaps Eudoxus' journey to Sicily to Dionysius provides a link, cf. AEL. *Var. hist.* 7,17 (= EUDOXUS T 25 LASSERRE).

⁴ ARIST. *Eth. Nic.* 1,12 p. 1101 b 27ff; 10,2 p. 1172 b 9ff.

⁵ WILAMOWITZ (1881: 48-51); SUSEMIHL I (1891: 325-327).

⁶ Cf. PLUT. *Quaest. conv.* 4,4,2 p. 667 F: καὶ γὰρ ὄψοφάγους καὶ φιλόψους λέγομεν οὐχὶ τοὺς βοείοις χαίροντας ὥσπερ Ἡρακλῆς (...), οὐδὲ τὸν φιλόσυκον οἶος ἦν Πλάτων, οὐ φιλόβιοτρυν οἶος Ἀρκεσίλαος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς περὶ τὴν ιχθυοπωλίαν ἡναδιδόντας ἐκάστοτε καὶ τοῦ κώδωνος ὀξέως ἀκούοντας. Cf. on the passage NYIKOS (1941: 33-36).

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1115. Theoxenus

F

1 LUCIAN. *Scyth.* 8: τὰ τελευταῖα καὶ ἐμυήθη μόνος βαρβάρων Ἀνάχαρσις δημιοποίητος γενόμενος, εἰς χρὴ Θεοξένῳ πιστεύειν καὶ τοῦτο ἴστοροῦντι περὶ αὐτοῦ.

² Θεοξένῳ Γ^α et fort. E¹ : Θεῷ ξένῳ ΓΕ^α : εἰς χρὴ Θέωνι πιστεύειν καὶ τοῦτο ἴστοροῦντι περὶ αὐτοῦ. οὗτως οἶμαι δεῖ γράφεσθαι mg. Γ^α

1115. Theoxenus

F

1 Finally, Anacharsis was the only barbarian to become initiated into the mysteries, after he had been made an Athenian citizen, if Theoxenus is to be trusted, who records this about him as well.

1115. Theoxenus

Introduction

Theoxenus, who is said to have written on Anacharsis or the Seven Sages, is obscure. Perhaps he has been invented as an authority by Lucian¹. The tradition that Anacharsis was a philhellenist pervades Lucian's entire dialogue², and the story, also told by Himerius³, that Anacharsis was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, should be viewed before this background. Though possible in theory⁴, it seems rather to be a biographical fiction⁵.

¹ Cf. KINDSTRAND (1981: 8 n. 7); BOMPAIRE (1958: 699-704) on Lucian's inventions. See, however, HIRZEL (1895: 285 n. 5), who appears to regard him as a genuine person. JACOBY in his *Nachlaß* p. 595 also refers to another Th. quoted on the origin of Pan by SCHOL.THEOCR. *Id.* 1,3-4f p. 32,1 WENDEL (= 244 F 134 a): "Fraglich, ob derselbe." An identification seems unlikely indeed.

² See on this tradition KINDSTRAND (1981: 26-30); cf. also VON DER MÜHLL (1976: 473-481).

³ HIMER. *Or.* 29 p. 131,2 COLONNA: ἦγαγε δὲ ἄρα οὐ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ κατ' Ἐλευσίνα πόθος καὶ Ἀνάχαρσιν τὸν Σκύθην ἐπὶ μυστήρια.

⁴ Cf. MYLONAS (1961: 248); BÖMER (1961: 474). Barbarians seem to have been excluded from the mysteries only after the Persian wars.

⁵ LOBECK (1829: 282 n. b); KINDSTRAND (1981: 8 n. 8). Similarly Hippocrates is said to have been initiated as a reward for his merits, cf. 1062. SORANUS F 2,10.

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1116 (= 435). **Timage**nes of Miletus

T

1 SUDA τ 590 s.v. Τιμαγένης ἢ Τιμογένης, Μιλήσιος, ιστορικὸς καὶ ῥήτωρ.
Περὶ Ἡρακλείας τῆς ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ καὶ τῶν ἔξ αὐτῆς λογίων ἀνδρῶν βιβλία γ',
καὶ ἐπιστολάς.

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΠΟΝΤΩΙ ΚΑΙ
ΤΩΝ ΕΞ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΛΟΓΙΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ Α-Γ

³ ἐπιστολάς *codd.* : μεταβολάς *dubitanter Müller, FHG III, p. 317*

1116 (= 435). **Timage**nes of Miletus

T

1 Timagenes or Timogenes, of Miletus, historian and orator. Three books
On the Pontic Heraclea and Its Famous Citizens, and epistles.

F

ON THE PONTIC HERACLEA AND
ITS FAMOUS CITIZENS 1-3

1116 (= 435). Timagenes of Miletus*Introduction*

Perhaps Timagenes of Miletus¹ should be dated to the Imperial period, as is suggested by his intellectual profile and above all by his literary oeuvre, which included a collection of epistles². His comprehensive work *On Heraclea and Its Famous Citizens* was in all likelihood a mixture of history and biography. It brings to mind on the one hand Memnon's history of Heraclea (*FGrHist* 434) and on the other Philo's encyclopedia *On Cities and Their Famous Citizens* (1060). Perhaps T. of Miletus chose this subject because Heraclea was a Milesian colony. In any case, there is no sufficient reason to assume a confusion in the Suda.

¹ All attempts to identify him remain unconvincing, cf. JACOBY, p. 283-284, on *FGrHist* 435.

² Cf. SUSEMIEL II (1892: 381-382).

1117. Timotheus of Pergamum

F

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ

- 1** CLEM. *Strom.* 4,56,1-2: (...) Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης ἀναγκαζόμενος κατειπεῖν τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἀντέσχεν πρὸς τὰς βασάνους οὐδὲν ἔξομολογούμενος, ὃς γε καὶ τελευτῶν τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐκτρώγων προσέπτυσε τῷ τυράννῳ (...). ὄμοίως δὲ καὶ Θεόδοτος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος ἐποίησεν καὶ Πραῦλος ὁ Λακύδου γνώριμος, ὡς φησι Τιμόθεος ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀνδρείας καὶ Ἀχαικὸς ἐν τοῖς Ἡθικοῖς.

⁴ Πραῦλος Wilamowitz (1881: 107 n. 9) : Παῦλος L

1117. Timotheus of Pergamum

F

ON THE BRAVERY OF PHILOSOPHERS

- 1** (...) Zenon of Elea, put under constraint to give away some secret, endured the tortures and admitted nothing, but finally even bit his tongue off and spat it upon the tyrant (...). Theodotus the Pythagorean also behaved in a similar way, and Prayllus, the pupil of Lacydes, as Timotheus of Pergamum tells us in his book *On the Bravery of Philosophers* and Achaicus in his *Ethics*.

1117. Timotheus of Pergamum

Introduction

It is an unsolved question whether Timotheus of Pergamum should be identified with T. of Athens (1079). In view of the different titles of the works, it is perhaps better to think of two authors, although an identity cannot be excluded. T.s work *On the Bravery of Philosophers* was perhaps adduced by the Peripatetic Achaicus¹, whom Clement quotes together with T. for the same story. It apparently included biographical material on several philosophers for the purpose of illustration, amassing unknown and known examples. He stated, for instance, that Theodotus the Pythagorean, and Praylus, pupil of Lacydes the Academic², endured tortures. Both philosophers remain quite shadowy figures. Theodotus has been identified with Theodorus of Tarentum, quoted by Iamblichus in his list of Pythagoreans³. Praylus⁴ seems to be none other than the Sceptic philosopher⁵.

¹ On Achaicus see MORAUX (1984: 211; 217-221).

² On Lacydes cf. DORANDI (1991: 7-10).

³ LAMBL. *Vita Pyth.* 267 (= DK I 58 p. 446,23). This would imply an easy corruption of the name, cf. CAPELLE (1934: 1958), who, however, rejects the identification.

⁴ His name has been restored independently by WILAMOWITZ (1881: 107 n. 9) and BERGK (1884: 250 n. 46).

⁵ DIOG. LAERT. 9,115, cf. WILAMOWITZ (1881: 107 n. 9); ZELLER III 1 (1909: 500); see, however, WEHRLI, *Suppl.* II p. 63 on SOTION F 33. It is puzzling that he is called a pupil of the Academic Lacydes. Perhaps he associated with the Academy, when the Sceptic school collapsed after Timon's death, cf. ZELLER loc. cit.

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1118 (= 111). Xenophon of Athens

T

1 DIOG. LAERT. 2,59: γεγόνασι δὲ Ξενοφῶντες ἐπτά· (...) δεύτερος Ἀθηναῖος, ἀδελφὸς Νικοστράτου τοῦ τὴν Θησηΐδα πεποιηκότος, γεγραφὼς ἂλλα τε καὶ Βίον Ἐπαμεινώνδου καὶ Πελοπίδου (...).

F

ΒΙΟΣ ΕΠΑΜΕΙΝΩΝΔΟΥ

ΒΙΟΣ ΠΕΛΟΠΙΔΟΥ

² Νικοστράτου *BF* : Πυθοστρ- *P*

1118 (= 111). Xenophon of Athens

T

1 There are seven Xenophons: (...) second Xenophon of Athens, brother of Nicostratus, the author of the *Theseis*, who wrote a *Life of Epaminondas* and a *Life of Pelopidas*.

F

LIFE OF EPAMINONDAS

LIFE OF PELOPIDAS

1118 (= 111). Xenophon of Athens

Introduction

Xenophon of Athens cannot be dated with any certainty¹, nor can his brother Nicostratus (or, according to a variant, Pythostratus), the author of a *Theseis*². According to Diogenes, X. wrote both a *Life of Epaminondas* and a *Life of Pelopidas*³. Hence he has been thought to be their contemporary⁴, though his name might equally suggest an author of the classicising period. However, the entry might raise some doubt⁵. It would be rather surprising if, apart from the famous X. of Athens, there should be another X. who wrote on similar subjects. In fact, it seems to me that the list of his works is most dubious. It could well be a distorted reference to the content of X.s *Hellenika*, where both Epaminondas and Pelopidas make their appearance. Moreover, the specific reference to X.s brother is quite surprising. Perhaps it was he who was famous rather than X. himself, and X. simply owed his entry into the list of homonyms to his famous brother.

¹ Cf. WICKERT (1967: 2051).

² The title *Theseis* is known as that of an epos, cf. DAVIES (1988: 156), but it may also refer to any other sort of poem on Theseus, cf. WEST II (1992: 61-62); SCHMID I 1 (1929: 294 n. 2).

³ The expression in the singular should not mislead the reader, since this kind of abbreviation is quite common in the Suda.

⁴ SUSEMIHL I (1891: 639 n. 616).

⁵ This is not the place to argue about the origin of Diogenes' list of homonyms. It seems to me that Diogenes did not use Demetrius of Magnesia directly, *contra* MEJER (1978: 38-39), but acquired his lists indirectly from some later author, like Agreophon's (1081), who partly abbreviated, partly continued Demetrius' work. Let it only be noted that the content of this list, like that of others, does not inspire the reader with much confidence. In fourth place there is also mention of an obscure X., author of a Ἀννιβαϊκή. Perhaps this should be regarded as an odd reference to the *History of Hannibal* written by Appian (notoriously confused with the νέος Ξενοφῶν Arrian).

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